635 of Sikang, which rounded out the western part of the Southwest Region, began to be developed as a part of the frontier colonial territory during the last years of the Ch'ing Dynasty (1644-1912).

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563 When the Red Army overran the Southwest Region in 1949, the Communists fell heir to the problems the territory has posed to every governing authority in China. As had often happened in the past, the mountainous terrain of the Southwest Region was the last refuge of armed resistance to the new regime. According to the Communists, Kweichow was not completely in their hands until January 1951,[1] and more "bandits" (a common Communist term for its armed enemies) were found in the Southwest Region than in any other region.[2] A more difficult and longer-term problem was that of the tribal people who had never been assimilated into Chinese culture. Constituting about 20 per cent of the region's population, the autochthonous people in many areas of the Southwest were still organized under their own tribal laws and respected the authority only of their own tribal chiefs.

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[1] Survey of the China Mainland Press, Hong Kong, American Consulate General, 205, pp. 12-13. Hereafter cited as S.C.M.P. Unless specifically attributed to the American editors, citations from this source refer to literal translations from Communist magazines and newspapers and should be evaluated accordingly.

[2] Ibid., 212, p. 24.

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Some progress in extending direct control over former tribal areas was made by the Ming Dynasty through its program of planned settlement and military action. However, the Ming administration vacillated between a policy of leaving non-Han Chinese areas to their own devices and eliminating t'u-ssu power by military force. The latter policy was most consistently and successfully pursued in Kweichow.

A more persistent attempt to bring the whole Southwest under Chinese administration was pursued by the Ch'ing Dynasty. Under the Republic (1912-1949), the extension of Chinese administration was handicapped by internal revolution, external interference, and warlord rule until the retreat of the Nationalist Government to Chungking in 1938. By the end of the anti-Japanese Resistance War in 1945, some progress in further integrating the Southwest Region into the Chinese political system had been made, but the t'u-ssu and lesser tribal chiefs still exercising real power numbered more than one hundred in Szechwan, more than one hundred and fifty in Yunnan, and over one hundred in Sikang.[17] The continuance since then of local independence in the Southwest is reflected in the announcement that 220 autonomous local governments had been established in the region by the Communist regime up to September 1954.[18]

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The extension of central authority in the

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[17] Ibid., pp. 240-41.

[18] People's China, Peking, Sept.1,1954,p.23

175 636 563 Southwest was complicated by the lack of respect toward each other of the *Han* Chinese and the tribal people. People who refused to adopt the Chinese culture were habitually regarded as inferior by the Chinese. On the other hand, the frontier area did not attract the best officials or Chinese people. Representatives of the central government tended to be second-raters inclined toward indolence, graft, corruption, and oppressive tactics toward the tribal people. Petty artisans and merchants made yearly trips to the frontier areas looking for quick profit by any means, while the more permanent Chinese settlers in the non-*Han* Chinese areas were often refugees and displaced persons who lived at a lower level than their non-Han Chinese neighbors. From the tribesmen, who respected strength and straightforwardness, such official and non-official representatives of the Chinese earned only contempt and resentment.[19]

Another factor which made the abolition of local autonomy difficult was that the *t'u-ssu* and lesser chieftains often had the respect of their subjects, entrenched position, and the armed strength to resist anything but a full-scale invasion by the central authority. In many places where *hsien* government was established by the Ch'ing or Republican central authorities, real power remained in the hands of the *t'u-ssu* or village headmen.[20]

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[19] Wiens, *op. cit.*, pp. 251-53.

[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 248-50.

D. Conflict between Tribesmen and Han Chinese

175 The mass migration of Han Chinese into
167 the Southwest Region and the attempts of the
563 central government to increase its real control
there resulted in heightened and continual conflict between tribesmen on the one hand and the new settlers and the Chinese government on the other. Even if the intrusion of the central authority did not bring with its exploitive and corrupt government, the influx of settlers encroached on the domain of the tribesmen to threaten their livelihood and the power of the local ruler.

Oppression and misgovernment by the
175 Han Chinese bureaucracy along with appropria-
669 tion of former tribal lands by Chinese agricul-
563 turists drove the Miao people of Kweichow into
desperate acts of violence twice in the eighteenth century. A great outbreak in 1735 was put down with much bloodshed by an army under General Chang Kuang-ssu. After enduring another half-century of misgovernment and exploitation, the Miao people retreated to the deeper mountain recesses of the province and again attempted rebellion under the leadership of Wu Pa-yüeh in 1795. In the next two years, the tribesmen sacked Chinese cities and towns in Kweichow, Szechwan, and neighboring Hunan before once more being
[162] suppressed by central government force. There-
after, the Miao people confined themselves to sporadic raids against the Han Chinese, who steadily advanced into the old tribal territories.[21]

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[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 190-191.

175 In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries,
outbreaks of tribal warfare with the Chinese
669 central government occurred further to the
563 south and west. Beginning in 1855, the Moslem
798 population in the Ta-li district of Yunnan staged
an uprising against their non-Moslem neighbors that led to almost twenty years of warfare marked by ruthless violence and slaughter on both sides. At least a million people lost their lives in the struggle, and one source estimates the population of the province was reduced from sixteen million to six million.[22]

III. THE MODERN PERIOD

A. The Coming of the West

177 From the middle of the nineteenth century, the Southwest China Region was subject to the intrusion of western military, material, and economic forces. They carried with them new secular and religious ideas incompatible with the traditional cosmological, social, political, and economic views of China. These forces for change coincided with a phenomenon when had been repeated many times over the centuries in China -- the decline of the ruling dynasty with an accompanying abuse of power and growth of disorder.[23]

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[22] Cf. Eberhard, op. cit., p. 313; and H. B. Morse, The International Relations of the Chinese Empire, 3 vols., London, Longmans, Green, and Co., 1910, 1918, Vol.II, pp. 288-89.

[23] The course and effect of Imperial China's

[continued next page]

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B. The Western Military and Missionary Impact

636 The initial effect in the Southwest Region
563 of Western intrusion was the new influence brought
175 to bear on the relation between the tribesmen and Han Chinese authorities by French penetration of Indo-China and British operations in Burma and Tibet. Annam, Tongkin, and Burma were all tributary kingdoms of the Chinese Empire until the last decades of the nineteenth century. Until the coming of the West, their borders with Yunnan were of little consequence to either kingdoms or the empire. The frontier area was rugged terrain inhabited by semi-independent tribes that had no consciousness of political demarcations and that moved freely back and forth across the vague boundary line. With French penetration of Annam and Tongkin and English advances into Upper Burma in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, all these tributary states were wrested away from Chinese suzerainty by force. Their borders and the loyalty of the tribal inhabitants of the frontier region then became matters of prime importance. If China pressed too hard for control or discipline of the tribes commissioned to guard the frontier, they had an alternative to Chinese rule and the means to blackmail the central authorities into more conciliatory treatment.

The Chinese frustration on the frontier was compounded by the inroads of France and England into the Southwestern provinces. Both Western powers in consolidating their position in the former Chinese tributary kingdoms

195 simultaneously enforced demands for the rights
636 of trade, mining development, railroad building,
563 and missionary settlement in Yunnan, Szechwan, and Kweichow. The foreign economic and missionary representatives were a constant source of irritation and fear for the Chinese and tribal inhabitants. Their periodic outbreaks of violence against the Westerners constituted excuses for forcing concessions from the Chinese government, causing it real fear that the provinces might eventually be alienated from its control.

By the twentieth century, Britain in Burma was emulating the old Chinese frontier policy of indirect control over the tribal elements. In controlling upper Burma as a defensive outpost of the English colonial empire in India, England left the _t'u-ssu_ intact, subsidized them, and enlisted their sympathy in every way possible. What could happen when the Chinese government failed to follow a similar program was made evident in 1910. An attempt in that year by the Ch'ing Dynasty bureaucracy in Yunnan to punish the tyranny of a _t'u-ssu_ of the P'ien-ma area led to his defection to the British and their occupation of the northwestern corner of the province.[24]

The Chinese have never been reconciled to the loss, and both the Nationalist Government and the Communist regime claim the upper salient

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[24] Wiens, _op. cit._, pp. 254-57.

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175 of Burma as Chinese territory. Until the out-
636 break of the war of resistance against Japan
563 in 1937, the British t'u-ssu policy in the Burma
border area precluded any concerted attempt by the Nationalist Government to exercise real control over the Southwest Region frontier. The same frustration in frontier policy and extension of Chinese authority there still faces the Communist regime, as it has not attempted to enforce by arms its claim to the disputed Burmese area.

175 A chain of circumstances leading to the
635 establishment of Sikang as a separate province
563 within the Chinese administrative system was
669 initiated by the British invasion of Tibet in 1904.
The British move was undertaken to offset Russian intrusion into Tibet during the previous decade, which England believed constituted a threat to its position in India. British occupation was soon followed by direct diplomatic negotiations with Tibet, though China was still recognized as nominal sovereign in the kingdom. At this sign of weakness on the part of the Ch'ing Dynasty, tribal leaders in what was then western Szechwan, and later became eastern Sikang, attempted to revolt. The uprising was quickly put down by a Szechwan army under the command of Chao Erh-feng. He attempted to replace the old t'u-ssu system by instituting hsien government on the Chinese model as a preliminary step to the establishment of a new province to be formed from western Szechwan and eastern Tibet.[25]

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[25] Ibid., pp. 237-38.

175 Tibet asserted its independence during
635 the Chinese revolutionary convulsions of 1912,
563 and with British help maintained a disputed
669 sovereignty until the Communists conquered
the territory in 1951. No Chinese government accepted Tibet independence, and intermittent fighting between Tibetan and Szechwan troops continued until 1928. In that year the Nationalist Government was able to assert control over eastern Tibet. That area with western Szechwan was then incorporated into the province of Sikang as part of the Chinese administrative system.[26]

Although the Ch'ing and the Nationalist government policy relieved the t'u-ssu of their legal title to rule, they continued to exercise real command in most of Sikang up to the present time. The last large-scale attempt at revolt by the t'u-ssu occurred in the early nineteen thirties as part of what is known as the Nona Rebellion.[27] The revolt was touched off when Nona, a member of the Commission for the Organization of Sikang Province and high-ranking tribal chieftain, staged an insurrection after the rejection of his recommendation that the t'u-ssu system be restored. His defection led to general unrest among the tribal leaders.

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[26] H. B. Morse and H. F. MacNair, Far Eastern International Relations, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1931, pp. 558-62.

[27] Wiens, op. cit., p. 246.

175 635 563 669 The revolt was still in progress when the Communists passed through the Southwest Region on their "Long March." Approaching northwestern Szechwan from Yunnan by way of what was then the border area between Szechwan and Sikang, the Communists claim to have had considerable success in winning the friendship of the Lolo (Yi) people.[28] When the Tibetan Autonomous District of Sikang was organized in November 1950, the Communist press reported that fifteen years earlier in the same area the Communists on the Long March had helped the local leaders establish a Tibetan People's Government or Pu-pa.[29] However, a non-Communist study asserts that the t'u-ssu of Szechwan and Sikang feared the Communists more than the Kuomintang and that many of the local leaders were wiped out in desperately resisting the Red Army. This view agrees with the account of the Communists concerning their bitter experiences among the Mantzu tribes of the Lolo people in the extreme northwest of Szechwan and northeastern Sikang during the second stage of the Long March from[30] the Sungp'an area of Szechwan to Yenan in Shensi.

C. Separatism and Conservatism

635 669 175 The rugged terrain of the Southwest Region which had kept it isolated and backward during the

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[28] See Communist account as reported by Edgar Snow, Red Star over China, New York, Random House, 1938, pp.182-84.

[29] S.C.M.P., 39, p. 42.

[30] Compare Wiens, op.cit., pp.246-47;and Snow, op. cit., pp. 192-94.

175of China for about a quarter of a century.
179The habits, dress, and ideas of American military and civilian personnel and of the Chinese refugees from industrialized centers constituted another novel experienced for the long-isolated people of the Southwest Region.[35] On the other hand, anthropological studies of ethnic minorities and geological explorations sponsored by the government gave the professionals involved and the government better knowledge of some of the region's hitherto unknown human and natural resources.

The depth of penetration and long-range effect of these new influences is difficult to determine. Had they occurred when the government was not primarily occupied with fighting a war for survival or under a more disciplined or more revolutionary-minded regime, the intensity and lasting quality of the new forces would undoubtedly have been strengthened tremendously. As it was, however, their power was diluted by Kuomintang censorship and control in areas where the new influences were at work, the continued existence of petty warlord rule in other areas, the skyrocketing inflation and heavy taxation incident to the war, and the growth of profiteering, corruption, and demoralization within the ranks of the Kuomintang and the Nationalist Government during the last few years of World War II.

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563 From the beginning of the exodus to Chungking, the old inhabitants and the new arrivals from the eastern cities looked on each other with

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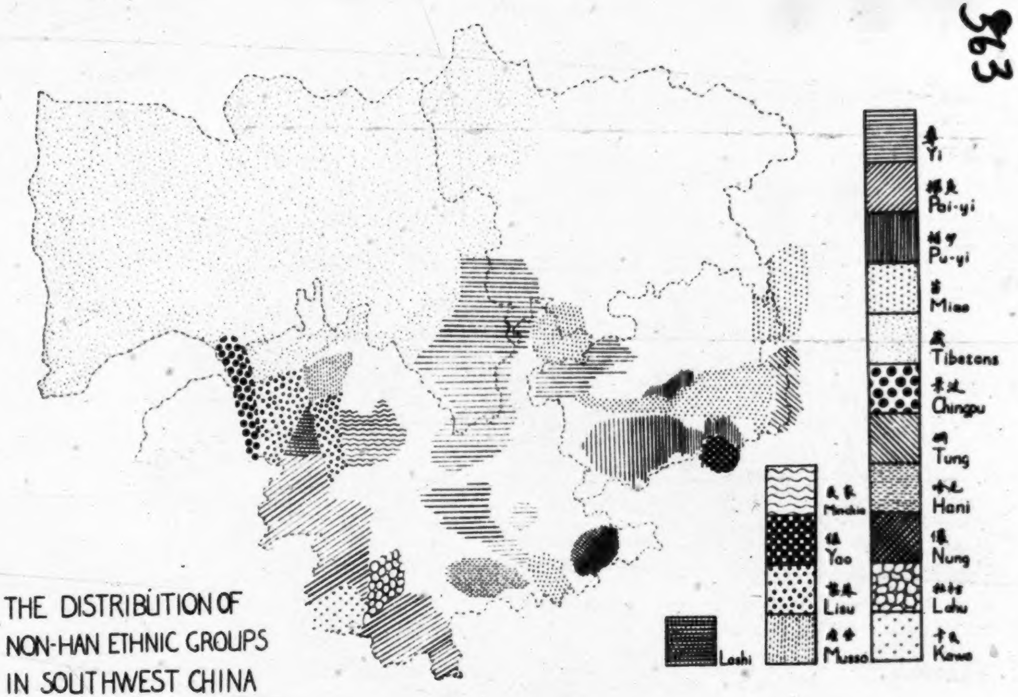
[35] On wartime Southwest China cf. White and Jacoby, op. cit., passim; Linebarger, op.cit., pp. 214-34.

175 mutual suspicion and disdain. When many of the
186 new factories and the modern, urbanized immi-
563 grants who largely ran them moved back to the
more convenient locations and amenities of the
eastern industrial centers after the war, their
departure was mourned by few of the older popu-
178 lation of Chungking. Some of the factories remained
in operation, however, and the wartime explora-
tion of the mineral resources of the Southwestern
provinces contributed not only new knowledge of
the potential economic value of the Southwest but
also impelling reasons for its further develop-
ment and for tying it closer to the rest of China
by improved communications.

The intellectual impact may have made
177 a deeper, longer lasting impression on the people
of the Southwest, simply because many of the stu-
dents and older intellectuals were intensely desir-
ous in their patriotic and socially idealistic zeal
of establishing closer contacts with the masses
of the people and contributing to their improved
welfare and national consciousness. Likewise,
most of the intellectuals in the rural education
movement were devoted to improving the liveli-
hood and educational level of the peasants. These
rural teachers were fully conscious that if they
attained their objective it would engender popular
demands on the government for improved social
conditions and more democratic, responsible
political organization.

668 Both the organized rural education move-
ment and the sporadic efforts of inspired students
and professional people were handicapped by


Yi
Pai-yi
Pu-yi
Miao
Tibetans
Chingpu
Tung
Hani
Nung
Lahu
Kawa
Minchia
Yao
Lisu
Musso
Loshi

THE DISTRIBUTION OF
NON-HAN ETHNIC GROUPS
IN SOUTHWEST CHINA

[facing P. 76] [a]

THE SIX NON-HAN ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE SOUTHWEST REGION

NAME	ORIGIN
Hui (Hui-hui, Hui-tsu)[1]	1. Arabian & Iranian soldiers & merchants moved into China from 7th to 13th centuries and intermarried with the Chinese aborigines. 2. Chinese children adopted by Hui families.
Miao (Miao-chia, Miao-tsu)	Tribes migrated from Hunan, eastern Kweichow and western Hupeh.
Yi (I-chia, I-pien, Lolo, Ning)	Probably immigrants from Tibet.
Tibetans (Ku-tsung in Yunnan, Mosshu in the mountains of northwestern Yunnan, Nu-tzu, or Lu-tzu along the Nu River, Kamba in Sikang)	Tribes migrated from Kansu, Ninghsia, and Shensi since the 10th century, probably by way of Chinghai or Tibet.
Pu-yi (T'u-jen, T'u-chia, by the Chinese, Chung-chia near Kweichow, Yu-chia near Anshun, and Shui-chia near Tu-shan)	Probably tribes from area south of the Yangtze in China.
Pai-yi (Shui Pai-yi in southernmost Yunnan, Thai)	Probably tribes from the coastal regions of South China.

THE SIX NON-HAN ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE SOUTHWEST REGION (Contd.)

APPEARANCE

Compared with average Han Chinese, the Hui have fairer complexion, and are well built, of moderate height. The Hui have well bridged noses, high cheek-bones, and slightly oblique eyes.

Deep-chested, rosy-cheeked hardy mountain-dwelling people. Men dress like Han Chinese peasants. Women wear costumes of different colors peculiar to their tribes.

Tall for an Oriental race, men and women averaging about 5'7". Their typical costume is a gray felt cloak for both men and women.

Tall and robust in physique. Men wear long garment belted at the waist, felt hat, and felt boots. Women wear different costumes in different localities, but all wear big silver earrings.

Not easily distinguished from the the Chinese. Men dress like Chinese. Among older women their tribal costume consisting of a tight-fitting jacket and a long skirt, is still common.

Short and well-built, with distinct Mongoloid features. Boys are tattooed and girls blacken their teeth at marriageable age.

THE SIX NON-HAN ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE SOUTHWEST REGION (Contd.)

NUMERICAL STRENGTH AND DISTRIBUTION

Tali is the center of the descendants of the Mohammedan soldiers of Kublai Khan.
South of Kunming is the center of Hui immigrants from Shensi.[2]

Approximately 2 million distributed in mountainous areas:

(1) Hua Miao (Flower Miao): widely distributed from Kweiyang westward, through An-sheng, Wei-ning, to eastern Yunnan.
(2) Hei Miao (Black Miao): southeastern Kweichow, centering around Li-p'ing.
(3) Ch'ing Miao (Blue Miao): central Kweichow
(4) Pai Miao (White Miao): central Kweichow
(5) Hung Miao (Red Miao): eastern Kweichow, centering around Tung-jen and related to the Miao of southwestern Hunan.

About 3,200,000 distributed in areas 6,500 ft. above sea level: East Sikang, northwestern Kweichow, northeastern and eastern Yunnan. The stronghold is in Ta-liang-shan in Sikang.

Sikang, northern Yunnan, western Szechwan.[3]

About 1,247,000 distributed in low marshy areas around Kweiyang and in southwestern Kweichow Province.

A little less than a million, distributed in lowland valleys in Yunnan:

(1) Along the Mu R. & Yüan R. (most influenced by Chinese culture.)
(2) Between 23 & 24 degrees N., and between Mu R. & Lan-ts'ang R.
(3) The region along the Yunnan-Burma Highway.
(4) The territory of the Shui Pai-yi in the southernmost Yunnan, historically known as the "Shih Shong Paan Naa" (least influenced by Han Chinese culture).

THE SIX NON-HAN ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE SOUTHWEST REGION

(Contd.)

LANGUAGE
Han Chinese with Arabian and Iranian elements of a religious nature.
Many dialects, but no written language. Adopt Chinese for writing when necessary.
No written language. Some have learned Chinese. Recently a Latinized Yi written language was invented and taught to the Yi people by the Chinese Communists.
Dialect not much different from that of Tibet proper. Written language is Tibetan.
Shan-speaking. Many can read and write Chinese.
Shan-speaking. Thai written language.

THE SIX NON-HAN ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE SOUTHWEST REGION

OCCUPATION	RELIGION (Contd.)
Merchants, bakers, money-exchangers, restaurant and inn keepers, horse dealers, carriers, traders. In northwestern Szechwan they control the Tibetan tea trade. In Hui communities they farm.	Islam (Ch'ing-chen chiao)
Most are peasants (the Hei Miao alone are usually owner-cultivators). Women spin, weave, and embroider. Some are boatmen; others, hunters.	Some of the Chinese gods are worshipped in their temples.
Agriculture.	A form of ancestor worship.
Nomadic and agricultural work.	Lamaism
Most are peasants. Those who settle in towns and cities engage in trade.	Buddhism
Agriculture.	Buddhism

THE SIX NON-HAN ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE SOUTHWEST REGION (Contd.)

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1/ The Hui is an ethnic designation, not necessarily including all the believers in Islam. Many Islamic groups in China have their own ethnic names, i.e., Uigurs, Kazaks, Mongolian Moslems, Tibetan Moslems, etc.

2/ China's 3.6 million Hui people live in large numbers only in Kansu Province. The rest are scattered throughout the country, mainly in Honan, Hopeh, Yunnan, and Northwest China.

3/ According to the census taken by the Chinese Communist government in 1954, there are 2,757,622 Tibetans in China, populating Tibet, Sikang, N. Yunnan, and W. Szechwan.

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1d,
Sociological Background

THE ETHNIC GROUPS IN SOUTHWEST CHINA

563 Ethnic minorities are generally defined as groups bound together by common ties of race, nationality, or culture, living together within an alien civilization but remaining culturally distinct. The Chinese Communists, following the practice of the USSR, have termed the ethnic minorities within the Chinese territory "nationalities" or "national minorities" in juxtaposition to the Han nationality. Therefore, the term "nationality," as it is used in China today, is a designation for an ethnic and geographical community; but owing to the fact that the Hui people, who are neither racially homogeneous nor all concentrated in one area, are also regarded as a separate nationality by the Chinese Communists, the latter's main principle governing such a classification seems to be the presence of customary laws and practices particular to a group of common origin which have over a period of time regulated its standard of behavior and given rise to group consciousness and distinctive characteristics. It is on this same broad principle that we base our classification of the ethnic groups in China Accordingly, the Han Chinese, although by far the great majority of the Chinese population (94 per cent), are also considered as one of the many ethnic groups in China.

I. INTRODUCTION

There is probably no area in the world where so many different ethnic groups have collected as

563 in the four provinces in Southwest China. Some of the groups are said to have migrated from Tibet; others, driven from their lands by the *Han* Chinese, sought refuge in the Southwest. The *Han* Chinese came later, and are now chiefly found in the plains and more accessible valleys.

These peoples, forming successive migratory waves from different parts of the continent, developed for a long time side by side without much intermingling. Cut off by high mountain ridges and unnavigable rivers, many have preserved their original languages and ancient customs, which are still in use today.

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162 There are more than 35 million people belonging to non-*Han* ethnic groups in China, constituting 6 per cent of the total national population and occupying more than one-half of the national territory.[1] Of the ten ethnic groups each having more than one million people, the Tibetans, *Yi*, *Miao*, *Pu-yi*, and *Hui* are represented in the Southwest in large numbers. The Southwest alone has 20 to 21 million people belonging to non-*Han* ethnic groups, constituting 20 per cent of the total regional population, and more significantly, dwelling along more than 3,000 miles of the national boundary.[2]

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[1] Communique of "Results of Census and Registration of China's Population," *Current Background*, No. 301, Nov. 1, 1954, Hong Kong, American Consulate-General.

[2] Wang, Wei-chou, "Hsi-nan Min-tsu Kung-tso Ch'ing-hsing" ["The State of the Nationalities Work in the Southwest"] , *Min-tsu Cheng-tse Wen-hsien Hui-pien* [*Compendium of Writings on Nationalities Policies*] , Peking, Jen-min chu-pan-she, 1953, p.124.

II. THE HAN CHINESE IN THE SOUTHWEST

In the Southwest the *Han* Chinese appear to greatly outnumber the non-*Han* Chinese. This is because the *Han* Chinese are mostly settled in cities, towns, and more accessible areas. Moreover, many tribesmen who dress like *Han* Chinese peasants may be mistaken for *Han* Chinese. The *Han* Chinese in this region are generally divided into (*a*) the native *Han* Chinese (*Lao-han-jen* or old Chinese), who have been there for at least 200 years and have intermarried with the aborigines, and (*b*) the immigrant *Han* Chinese (sometimes called K'echia) who came later. 563 162 177

A. Szechwan

In this province, the native *Han* Chinese have spread in the south and west. The more recently arrived *Han* Chinese of Hunan and Hupeh origin are to be found in the western, eastern, and southern parts of the province; those of Honan, Anhwei, and Kiangsi origin, in the southern part of the province; and those of Shensi and Kansu origin, in the western and northern parts of the province. Cities like Chengtu and Chungking have other *Han* Chinese from Kwangtung, Fukien, Chekiang, and Kiangsu.[3] The Manchu government in the mid-seventeenth century encouraged immigration into Szechwan with the promise of land, and more than 1,700,000 *Han* Chinese migrated.[4] Many others who settled in Szechwan had been traders or government officials. 563 167

B. Sik'ang

The migration of *Han* Chinese into this province started in the *T'ang* (618-907 A.D.) and *Sung* (960-

23 167 China were compelled to colonize Yunnan early in the Ming dynasty, and most of the Ming garrison soldiers were from the vicinity of the Yellow River and the Yangtze. Among the Han Chinese immigrants were criminals and refugees.[6]

D. Kweichow

The ancestors of the small number of native Han Chinese in this province were soldiers left behind in the wake of earlier military campaigns. Their descendants, speaking the old dialect (or a modification of it) their forebears brought into the country, now form separate communities. They are sturdy and industrious, and generally own the land they cultivate, but they are regarded by the immigrant Han Chinese in much the same category as the Miao and the Pu-yi. The native Han Chinese, in the course of time, have been absorbed into the non-Han Chinese and the immigrant Han Chinese groups. The immigrant Han Chinese came after Kweichow was made a province of the Manchu Empire. Most of them claimed Kiangsi as their old home. In recent years, however, nearly all the Han Chinese immigrants have come from the provinces of Hunan and Szechwan, particularly Szechwan.[7]

(For cultural characteristics of the Han Chinese in this region, see chapters on Social Structure and Family.)

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6. Wilhelm Credner, Cultural and Geographical Observations Made in the Tali (Yunnan) Region with Special Regard to the Nan-Chao Problem, Bangkok, The Siam Society, 1935, pp. 12-13.

7. Samuel R. Clarke, Among the Tribes in Southwest China, London, Morgan & Scott, Ltd., China Inland Mission, 1911, p. 11.

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[redacted]

III. THE NON-HAN ETHNIC GROUPS

A. The Hui of Yunnan

● 563 The Hui intermarry with the Han Chinese. When a Han Chinese bachelor desires to marry a Hui girl, he must embrace the Islam[1] faith; a Han Chinese girl who wishes to marry a Hui man does not have to change her own religion. Therefore, although physical difference sets the Hui apart from the Han Chinese, the lack of racial prejudice on the part of the Hui facilitates the assimilation of other groups into the Hui community and renders the racial composition of the Hui more complex. Hence, Hui cohesiveness is attributable to factors other than mere racial physical difference. Their language, religion, and customs that follow religious practice and observance make them cohesive as an ethnic group against outside forces, despite the fact that in Yunnan the Hui do not have large and contiguous communities.

[669] In the past there was enough antagonism between the Hui and the Han Chinese to cause several rebellions against the Chinese government. The bloody suppression of the Hui rebellion led by Tu Wen-hsiu in the middle of the nineteenth century devastated Hui communities in Yunan to such an extent that they have never recovered from it. The Kuomintang government seemed to take for granted that the Hui were so sufficiently assimilated into Chinese communities that they did not merit recognition as a separate ethnic group. In the 1930's

[1] [i.e., the Muslim faith -- Analyst]

AF16
Miao

563 the Hui were treated as "believers in Islam," and their ethnic differences were minimized.[8]

The present Chinese Communist government has reversed the Kuomintang practice. By digging out past grievances between the Han and the Hui, and by condemning the suppressive policies of the previous governments, the ethnic policy of the People's Government is claimed to be the most enlightened of all times. However, the Peking Government's reversal of the Kuomintang practice seems to have more proganda value among other Moslem peoples in the world, especially the Indonesians, than any actual material benefit for the Hui people in Yuman.[9]

According to a report at a meeting held by the Hui Cultural Associations at Peking, ten autonomous hsien and chou have been established for the Hui people in China. However, there have been no reports announcing the establishment of any Hui autonomous unit in the Southwest, although there are indications that scattered Hui in this area have representation in the local governments as well as in the autonomous government units of some other ethnic groups.[10]

B. The Miao of Kweichow

The Miao tribes, divided by dialects not intelligible to each other, are not united. Many scattered Miao, upon closer contact with neighboring peoples, readily lose their identity. Except

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[8] This is evident in several yearbooks of that period; Hui people are not separately listed.

[9] Propaganda value can be illustrated by activities of THE Hui Cultural Association and its intercourse with Moslem delegations from other parts

[continued next page]

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[illegible]
Miao
Lolo

513 for the *Hei Miao*, who usually own the land they cultivate and are well-to-do, most of the *Miao* tribes are poor and backward in their "slash and burn" system of agriculture.

For generations the *Miao* have been ruled by *Yi* chieftains called *T'u-ssu*, or Chinese officials, to whom the *Miao* pay taxes. In western and northwestern Kweichow, where the *Miao* are the tenants of the *Yi* landlords, the *Miao* not only pay rent in kind, but also render labor and military service to the landlords. The *Yi* landlords may also impose levies on them on special occasions.[11] In Communist jargon, this is clearly a situation in which one minority group is "exploited" by another. The amelioration of this condition of the *Miao* tenants would entail the alienation of the *Yi* people. Consequently, Communist propaganda among the *Miao* tribes emphasizes the past sufferings of the *Miao* under the Kuomintang rule, but not their hardships under the *Yi* landlords. It is interesting to note the way in which the Communists carried out "land reform" in this area; their policy of giving preferential treatment to the *Yi* is a clear departure from the "land reform" principle practiced in other parts of China.

[No. 9 continued] --of the world.

[10] *NCNA*, April 15, 1955, *SCMP*, No. 1031, April 20, 1955, Hong Kong, American Consulate General, pp. 32-33.

[11] Lin Yueh-hwa, "Social Life of the Aboriginal Groups in and around Yunnan," *Journal of the West China Border Research Society*, Vol. XV, Series A, 1944, Chengtu, West China Border Research Society, pp. 50-51.

~~AF 16~~

AF16
Miao
Lolo

513 The Miao women work in the field together with their men. They do not observe the marriage bond as strictly as the Han Chinese. They do not particularly suffer under the marriage system,[12] and the enforcement of the Marriage Law makes no material difference to the status of women in Miao communities.

C. The Yi of Sikang

The Yi are divided into two classes: the Black and White. The Black are the nobility and landlords, and the White are the slaves. The White Yi do all the manual and agricultural work, and their children are born slaves and property of their overlords. Marriage between the two classes is absolutely forbidden. This two-class society is further complicated by the fact that, owing to their own diminishing numbers, the Yi along the Kweichow border have brought in the Miao as their tenants.[13]

The Chinese Communist press recently has made brief mention of the abolition of the two-class system in Yi society, but of how it has been brought about, and, more particularly, of how the organization of the clan and the family has been affected, nothing has been said. It seems that so far this abolition of the class system is only in principle.[14]

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[12] Clarke, op. cit., p. 31.

[13] Ibid., p. 121.

[14] Chen Han-seng, "The Yis of Taliangshan," China Reconstructs, No. 2, p. 1.

The Communist press has also emphasized the improved status of women in Yi society. However, the fact is that Yi girls are trained to manage household affairs and traditionally hold a high position in the family, while their brothers are not trained in any occupation.[15] Therefore, that Yi women are now elected to local governments should not be regarded as an unprecedented Communist accomplishment.

D. The Tibetans of Sikang

The Tibetans are divided into two classes: landlords and tenants. Because of the scarcity of labor, those who have been given the right to cultivate the land must work for their masters;this forced labor is known in the Manchu language as ula.[16]

The Communists have claimed that the Chinese People's Liberation Army pioneered the battering down of the ula system in Sikang. It is alleged that from the moment of its arrival in Sikang, the People's Liberation Army paid the Tibetans for every service rendered and provided compensation for all animals lost in transport work. This had never been done in Sikang before. Subsequently, one of the first acts of the Sikang Tibetan Autonomous Regional Government was a decree in November 1950 to abolish the ula system.[17] The fact that many Han cadres are encouraged to work and to "grow roots" in Tibetan communities, that soldiers stationed in the area are told to adopt local customs, diets, and

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[15] Lin Yüeh-hwa, op. cit., p. 54.

[16] Chen Han-seng, The Chinese Peasant, London, New York and Bombay, Oxford Univ.Press, 1945, pp. 16-18.

[17] Chen Han-seng, "Sikiang Serfdom to Freedom," China Reconstructs, No.5,1954,pp.28-32.

Tibetans
Chung-chia

languages, and that migration from other parts of China to Sikang is encouraged, seems to indicate that more labor force is needed before the ula system can be abolished in practice.[18] 563

The Tibetans in Sikang are Lamaists, upon whom Han Chinese culture has made little impression. Instead, they look to Tibet for cultural leadership. Relations between the Chinese and the Tibetans in Sikang have not been cordial, and the attitude of the Tibetans in Sikang toward Pekings seem to be contingent upon Peking's relation with Tibet proper. So far, the Communist government in Peking has had more administrative control over Sikang than over Tibet; this could be the reason behind the recent Communist move to unite the western part of Sikang province with Tibet proper,[19] hoping that, through Sikang, Tibet might be brought closer to Peking administratively and, through Tibet's cultural influence, Sikang's Tibetans might be made to co-operate with the Chinese government more readily. 563 648

E. The Pu-yi of Kweichow

Although called by different names in various parts of Kweichow, the Pu-yi are not divided into tribes like the Miao. Pu-yi dialects differ in individual localities, but not enough to become mutually unintelligible as is the case with the Miao dialects. The Pu-yi are a homogenous group, and there is little divergence between Pu-yi and Han Chinese cultures. The latter fact has made the Pu-yi more 563

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[18] People's Daily, Peking, Oct. 18, 1952; December 11, 1950.

[19] Hsin-hua Yüeh-pao [New China Monthly], April 1955, pp. 15-16.

563 readily assimilated into Chinese communities. Many *Pu-yi* speak, read, and write Chinese, and they are not despised by the *Han* Chinese as are the *Miao*.[20] As a minority group the *Pu-yi* of Kweichow actually do not pose any minority problem for the Chinese administration.

The traditional land ownership pattems of most of the ethnic groups in the Southwest may make them less resistant to collectivism in agriculture, whereas the *Pu-yi*,[21] who usually own the land they cultivate and are well-to-do, may not accept collectivism as readily.

Pu-yi women do more work in the fields than *Han* Chinese women, but their social position is lower.[22] No change in status of women in *Pu-yi* communities has so far been reported in Communist sources.

F. The Pai-yi of Yunnan

Pai-yi society is divided into two classes: the aristocracy, consisting of the native chieftains and their relatives, and the common people. Intermarriage between the aristocracy and the common people is generally forbidden, although the native chieftains sometimes take concubines from the common people.[23]

There are no small landowners or owner-cultivators in *Pai-yi* villages. Land ownership is

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[20] Clarke, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-99.

[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 99-101.

[22] *Ibid.*; Gabrielle M. Vassal, *In and Around Yunnan Fou*, London, William Heinnemann, 1922, p. 52.

[23] Lin Yüeh-wa, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

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nominally vested in the village as a community, but in reality, in the *Pai-yi* aristocracy as a ruling class.[24] The common people's obligations to their landlords are numerous: rent, household taxes, office provision, and other special tributes. In addition, the common people may be called on at any time to render military service. Land tax is collected for the Chinese government by the *Pai-yi* chieftains from each family rather than each land unit.[25] The tribal administration lingers on, hindering not only the development of any administration based on taxing the privately owned land, but also imposing the burden of a double government on the *Pai-yi* people.

However, the tightly-knit *Pai-yi* village does not provide fertile ground for the Communists' land reform. In fact, it is reported by Chinese Communist sources that, as late as October 1954, the original *Pai-yi* tribal land system was still intact. On the other hand, the traditional *Pai-yi* pattern of land ownership may not offer strong resistance to agricultural collectivism if it is launched.

The *Pai-yi* are racially related to the Thai people in northern Burma; many of them, especially the Shui *Pai-yi*, are not much influenced by *Han* Chinese culture. Part of the Pai-yi territory and their neighboring territory which lies west of the Kao-li-kung-shan [Kao-li-kung Mountains] have been claimed by both the Chinese and Burmese governments.[26] For these reasons, winning the allegiance of the Pai-yi people has been recognized as an urgent task of any Chinese central administration.

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[24] Chen Han-seng, *Frontier Land Systems in Southernmost China*, New York, Internat'l Secretariat, Inst. of Pacific Relations, 1949, p. 15.

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 22.

[26] In early 1930's, British and Burmese troops occupied Chiang-hsin-p'o. This is the so-called P'ien-ma Incident.

IV. The Chinese Communist Policy and Administration

The Fourth Department of the Nationalities Affairs Commission of the Central People's Government at Peking carries on research and collects data on the ethnic groups in the Southwest. It also advises the Government Council with regard to the formulation and administration of ethnic policy there.[27]

Overcoming the isolation of the ethnic groups is the first goal of the Communist administration in the Southwest. Since the "liberation," three large delegations from Peking have made extended tours of minority areas in the Southwest. They have gone not as mere visitors, but as missionaries to explain the government's policy toward the minorities. They have not only demonstrated the government's good will at the "grass-roots level" by presenting these peoples with gifts and providing them with medical service, but, more importantly, they have collected information pertinent to the development of the Southwest. Highways are now being built which not only link the minority but also join these communities with the outside world. There is now a highway from Yunnan to Szechwan passing through Chao-chüeh, the heart of the once-isolated territory of the independent Lolo (Yi).[28]

The Communists have recognized that, at the present stage, the millions of ethnic minorities

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[27] People's Daily, Peking, August 14, 1952.
[28] Chen Han-seng, op. cit.; People's Daily, March 1, 1954.

[redacted]

can achieve cultural, political, and economic progress only in their own accustomed patterns. Their own languages must be used as vehicles for the communication of modern methods. *Han* Chinese cadres are told to study minority languages.[29] Linguists and philologists have been dispatched to the Southwest to help improve or invent written scripts for the minorities.[30]

"Consultation" is adopted as a method to get desirable representatives from the various ethnic groups when conditions are not favorable for popular election of delegates. This method frequently yields a number of hand-picked representatives not proportionate to the total population of the ethnic groups. When the minorities have more representatives than they are entitled to have, the fact is publicized by the Communists as special consideration for minorities. This subterfuge is cloaked by the democratic-sounding phrase: 'Co-operation with minority leaders having connections with their own people."[31]

To sum up, it could be said that the Chinese Communist government has so far attempted more than any other previous government in China to

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[29] *People's Daily*, November 12, 1953.

[30] In the past several years the government has sponsored the following: (1) invention of a Latinized Sikang *Yi* written language; (2) improvement of the Yunnan *Pai-yi* and Chingpo's Thai language; (3) invention of the Kweichow *Pu-yi* script; (4) collection of Kawa words and phrases; and research in *Miao* dialects and preparation of textbooks in *Miao* languages. *People's Daily*, June 23, 1954.

[31] *Ibid.*, Feb. 21, 1954.

● 513 to bring the minorities in the Southwest into the national orbit. It increases the intensity of cultural contacts among these groups and between the Han Chinese and these groups. In economic, cultural, political, health, and educational activities, it endeavors to decrease the divergence of the different groups. It tries to curb distrust of the ethnic groups by playing down the irritating chauvinism of the Han Chinese. It has fostered and brought the leaders of the ethnic minorities into closer contract with the central government in Peking. It is training present and future minority leaders in Chinese national universities.

Under the Communist administration, although each ethnic group now seems exalted and its separate identity emphasized, the net effect of the Communist ethnic policy and administration has been easing out the factors which had for centuries caused the minorities in the Southwest to cohere and to defy the central administration. Solidarity of all the ethnic groups, the international prestige resulting from it, and the development of the nation as a whole seem to be the main concern in the government's treatment of the minority ethnic groups in the Southwest. It does not seem feasible for a future Chinese government to concentrate on negating the Communist government's ethnic program in this area if the Southwest is intended to remain as part of the Chinese territory. Rather, better programs can be formulated and carried out by taking advantage of the Communists' experience with the minorities in this area.

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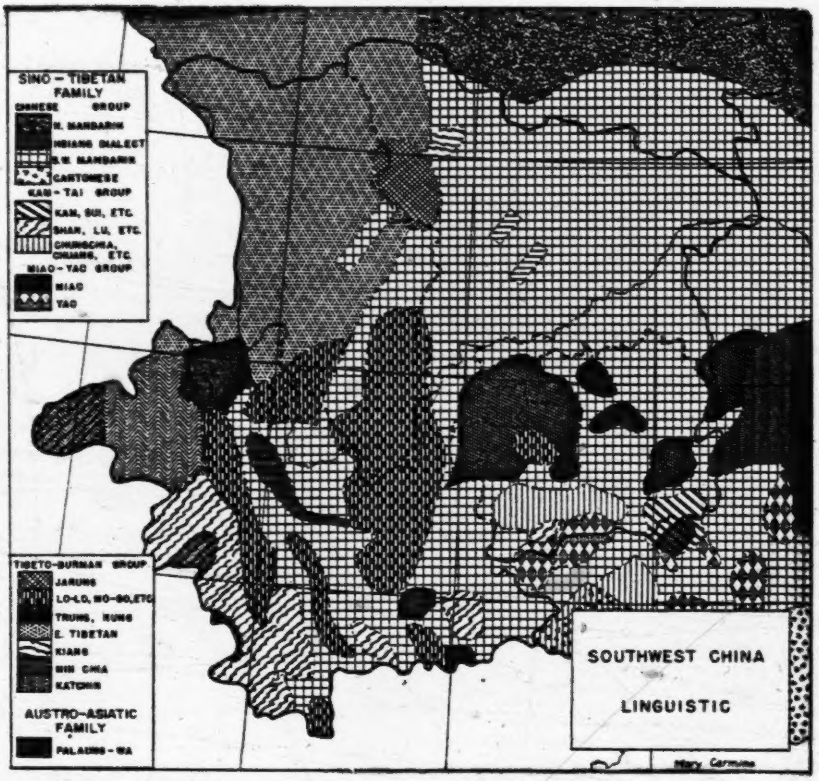
SINO-TIBETAN FAMILY
CHINESE GROUP
N. MANDARIN
HSIANG DIALECT
S.W. MANDARIN
CANTONESE
KAM-TAI GROUP
KAM, SUI, ETC.
SHAN, LU, ETC.
CHUNGCHIA, CHUANG, ETC.
MIAO-YAO GROUP
MIAO
YAO
TIBETO-BURMAN GROUP
JARUNG
LO-LO, MO-SO, ETC.
TRUNG, KUNG
E. TIBETAN
KIANG
MIN CHIA
KATCHIN
AUSTRO-ASIATIC FAMILY
PALAUNG-WA
SOUTHWEST CHINA
LINGUISTIC
Mary Carmine

[facing p. 92]

212 exactly identical with that of the compound even on the basis of ancient Chinese pronunciation, and that the meaning indicated by the signific is at best categorical rather than minutely accurate.

6. Derivative Characters

The last of the six categories consists of what may be called derivative characters, the origin of which is still uncertain. Some scholars think that the characters of the category resulted from graphic inversion, such as lao 老 "aged, old" and k'ao 考 "aged, old"' others think that they resulted from changes brought about by modifications in sounds accompanied by modifications in meanings, such as heng 亨 "propitious" and hsiang 享 "to enjoy." At any rate, this is the smallest category.

B. Non-Chinese Written Languages

212
563 To varying degrees of completeness and adequacy, some of the non-Chinese languages spoken in this region have their own scripts:

1. The Pai-yi ethnic minority groups, speaking Kam-Tai dialects, use two systems of writing. One is the Shan alphabet derived from the Burmese alphabet and the other is closely related to the Siamese alphabet.

2. Speakers of Miao-Yao have no script of their own, but attempts have been made by some Western missionaries to adapt the Latin alphabet to these dialects for the translation of the Bible.

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563 3. A writing system derived from a certain ancient Indic alphabet of the seventh century is used by the Tibetan-speaking people in this region in their religious writings.

4. The Lolo people use a phonetic script, mainly for religious writings. The phonetic symbols resemble Chinese characters and can be written either vertically or horizontally.

5. A primitive "hieroglyphic" script is in use among the Moso-speaking people. The system has yet to be standardized and is neither adequate nor effective as a written medium of communication. More recently an effort has been made to adopt a phonetic alphabet to replace the "hieroglyphic" symbols. The new phonetic alphabet resembles that of the Lolo script.

VII. CHINESE SCRIPT AND THE HIGH INCIDENCE OF ILLITERACY

912 It is true that written Chinese is uniformly understood throughout the country and has created no difficulty for literate Chinese in communicating ideas to one another regardless of their dialectal affiliation. But it is also true that although Chinese characters might have been devised for writing the spoken language in ancient times, now the great majority of symbols have become merely conventionalized written equivalents of individual spoken words. Some of the characters for most commonly used words such as 鹽 "salt" and 鐵 "iron," for instance, consist of twenty-four and twenty-one strokes respectively. To say the very least about them, they are time-consuming for the average Chinese

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1f,
Sociological Background

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

563 Owing to the fact that the majority of the population in Southwest China are Han Chinese who have migrated from provinces in East, North, and Central-South China, and that the Southwest has been under Chinese rule for centuries, the social structure of the Han Chinese in Southwest China closely resembles that of other regions of China. However, the presence of a large number of ethnic minorities in this region gives the over-all social structure of the region a unique character. Those minorities who have adopted Han Chinese culture are integrated into the social structure of the Han Chinese; those who remain isolated and unassimilated have their own separate social structures peculiar to their own cultures, which are not yet sufficiently investigated and understood by people outside of these groups.[1] The scope of this chapter is therefore limited to the social structure of the majority people, i.e., the Han Chinese and those ethnic minorities who have adopted the Han Chinese way of life in the Southwest.

I. THE TRADITIONAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE

565 A. Social Classes

The people of traditional China often viewed

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[1] Consult chapter on Ethnic Groups in this handbook.

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593 article on the subject in the January 1955 issue of China Youth emphasizes that "respect for one's parents is part of...individual or social Communist morals," but the attitude "must be governed by the interests of the Revolution." If the parents are counterrevolutionaries, they should not be respected but treated as enemies; if they are counterrevolutionaries who have been pardoned by the people and are still able to work, they should be made to reform-through-labor, and should not be pitied or helped. Only if they are unable to support themselves should they be aided by the children, "for if the children do not support them, then the burden will fall on the state, which is obviously undesirable." As to bourgeois parents, they should normally be shown respect and concern; but if they break the law, "the children should justly and dispassionately examine their crime." Working class parents "should of course be respected, loved, and taken care of." They should not be discriminated against or ridiculed because of the shortcomings they have inherited from the old regime, but "should be patiently persuaded to see the light."[35]

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596 Except for the Chengtu Plain, an ancient center of Chinese civilization and population in Szechwan, the Southwest Region is occupied largely by Chinese who immigrated since the fourteen century. About twenty per cent of the region's population consists of various indigenous tribes scattered throughout the more mountainous areas and following different social and family customs

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[35] Ibid., 973, pp. 30-32.

563 596 too various to describe in this chapter.[36] Under the Communists, the tribal peoples have been given special treatment, and the uniqueness of 37 their social systems has been largely preserved. No attempt was made to implement the new Marriage Law in the ethnic minority autonomous areas established by the new regime.

178 In the twentieth century, family patterns among the Chinese people of the Southwest Region have largely followed the forms of traditional China before the beginning of industrialization and the resulting outgrowth of revolutionary social and political forces.[38] The customs and practices of the Chinese people long established on the Chengtu Plain and of immigrants, mostly from the Yangtze River provinces of the Central-South and East China regions, were little disturbed by modern trends until the capital of the Nationalist Government was moved to Chungking during the war with Japan. Previously, Western-style commerce and industry had made little progress in the region, the intrusion of modern trends from other parts of China had been barred by the lack of railway and highway links with the outside world, and warlord rule had perpetuated traditional values and practices. 178 873 One significant modern influence that had made its way into the region was modern education at the universities, especially in the

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36. The chapter on Ethnic Groups describes some of the major social characteristics of the principal indigenous tribes.

37. See Fei Hsiao-t'ung, "Minority Groups in Kweichow Province," C.B., 150, pp.8-15.

38. On the family in the Southwest Region, see Francis L.K. Hsu, Under the Ancestors' Shadow: Chinese Culture and Personality, New York, Columbia U. Press, 1948; and Fei Hsiao-t'ung, China's [cont'd]

178 provincial capital of Chengtu and its vicinity.

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Just before the war, transportation systems began to bring the Southwest Region into contact with the rest of China. The wartime needs of the Nationalist Government led to the beginning of modern industrial and commercial development within the region and the exploration and development of its mineral resources. Refugee students and professors from other parts of China were scattered in makeshift unversities throughout the Southwest Region. Many of the educated group made determined efforts to filter to the people some of the new political and social ideas derived from Chinese contact with the West through the mesh of the Kuomintang wartime censorship. Some refugee intellectuals were enlisted in the rural reconstruction program, headed by James Yen, who attempted in scattered rural areas to improve literacy, agricultural methods, and living habits and to spread new social and political ideas. Although stripped of their former revolutionary content, they contained within them the seeds of change in family and other areas of life.[39]

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178 The results of these innovations in the Southwest Region appear to have been minor and ephemeral, but it is still too early to assay their long-range and lasting effects. The influences of the intellectuals and of the personnel of the rural

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[39] On the rural reconstruction program see Paul M. A. Linebarger, The China of Chiang K'ai-shek [sic.] : A Political Study, Boston, World Peace Foundation, 1941, pp. 218-22.

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reconstruction program probably cut deepest because of the patriotic eagerness and sincerity with which many of the educated group sought communication with the peasants, understanding of their problems, and the elevation of their social and political life and outlook. Industrial influences seem to have been less penetrating. Manufacturing plants were generally small, decentralized operations most centered in the wartime capital. Refugees from the modern cities stayed close to Chungking and viewed the permanent residents with contempt. The factories, the immigrants who supervised them, and the modern habits of the recent arrivals from the western cities were in turn looked on with suspicion and dislike by the older inhabitants. As soon as the war was over, many of the war-born industries were discontinued and the urban immigrants moved back to the industrialized centers of the East with their ammeniti for modern living. However, some of the new factories remained open after the war, the mining possibilities of the region had begun to be explored and developed, and permanent changes with closer links to the rest of China were underway before the Communists entered the Southwest Region.[40]

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[40] On the Southwest in wartime see Linebarger, op. cit., pp 218-34; and Theodore H. White and Annalee Jacoby, Thunder Out of China, New York, William Sloane Associates, Inc., 1946 pp. 3-19, 54-72, and passim.

177 311 563 There are other factors which give to much of the area we are now considering important uniformities in culture. The expansion of "Chinese culture" from Honan and Shantung into the whole of south and southwest China was essentially the steady outward push of an efficient agricultural technique which displaced the more primitive aboriginal food-gatherers and primitive slash-burn agriculturists, absorbed most of these people into its operation, and drove the remnants higher and higher into the hills. This process is still going on in upland areas of the Southwest. 241 621 The characteristically Chinese agriculture is intensive, that is, it uses large quantities of human labor in irrigating, fertilizing, and cultivating land for maximum yields. Its unit of socio-economic organization is the village, composed of those families which cultivate the surrounding fields within easy walking distance. 621 It was in the villages of rural China, spread over a vast area to exploit the land through a common technology, that the characteristic way of life developed. It is his family's village which is "home" to any Chinese, no matter what his class, how far he may wander, or how Westernized his life may have become. There are perpetuated the ties with his own family's past, symbolized by the ancestral temple and the family or clan burial ground. There are the other families

538 to literature also pertains to the other arts. Therefore, as far as the theory and policy of the arts are concerned, no separate treatment is necessary.

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563 Only in the less sophisticated folk literature and folk art does the Southwest retain its unique regional characteristics. However, even in this respect, the Southwest is by no means a separate entity. Parts of Szechwan, Kweichow, and Yunnan, being largely populated by the Han Chinese from the provinces east of them, are more closely related to the Central China tradition; other parts of these provinces are populated by a variety of ethnic minorities, each having its own unique cultural pattern. The cultural policies toward these minorities are part of the national policies and are decided in Peking.

No attempt is made in this chapter to describe the propaganda and information machine of the Chinese Communists in which literature and art are made to play their part. For this, consult the chapters on propaganda and information in this handbook.

I. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF LITERARY ACTIVITIES IN COMMUNIST CHINA

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668 The reform of literature and art (wen-i cheng-feng) at Yenan in 1942[1] made the practice of literature and art in the Liberated Areas overt political activities; the application of the same line to the entire country in 1949 subjugated all

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[1] [See following page.]

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than T'ien, especially when Ai writes of everyday things familiar to the reader and T'ien draws his inspiration from a vision of the new world which is less comprehensible to the average reader.

Ma Fan-t'o and Li Chi are often spoken of together. Ma's poems are modeled upon popular rhymes. Li Chi's poems are modeled after Shun-t'ien-yu, a folk-song pattern popular in Shansi and Suiyuan during the war against Japan.

All the poets mentioned above are known nationally. Their styles are imitated by lesser known poets. Kuo Mo-jo may be better appreciated by the Southwesterns because he was born and grew up in Szechwan.

E. Literature of the Ethnic Minorities

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The so-called literature of the ethnic minorities in Communist China, the development of which was mentioned in the first issues of the People's Literature in October 1949 as one of the six tasks of the literary workers in China, is so far not the product of the minority peoples; the writing is done in the Chinese language, mostly by the Han Chinese, or by people of minority origins who have mastered the use of the Chinese language.[20]

So far, the effort of fostering minority literature takes four forms:

1. tracing and recording customs of the minority groups;
2. interpreting the institutions of the minority groups from a dialectic materialistic viewpoint; and

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[20] [see next page]

538
563 3. The exchange of literatures of the Han Chinese and the ethnic minorities.[21]

Although history in the Southwest is often interpreted by the Chinese Communists as antagonism between groups or suppression of one group by another, the literatures of the minorities that are to be developed are not allowed to take anti-administration forms.

F. Drama

536 Stage plays in China can be roughly divided into four kinds: (1) folk plays native to small dialectal districts, (2) ching-hsi, or p'i-huang (Peking opera) which is appreciated in all parts of China proper, but particularly in Peking, Tientsin,

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20. Most of the literature of the minority groups take the form of poetry. The following are representative: Yung Ying, "We Are a Group of Miao-chia," People's Literature, January 1, 1952, pp. 61-62; Fan Jung-k'ang, "Song of the Miao-chia," ibid. pp. 63-64; Chu Yeh, "The Yi and the Ni-su of the Highlands," ibid., pp. 53-60; Miao Yen-hsiu, Ta-miao-shan Symphony, Shanghai, Hsin wen-i ch'u-pa she, 1954; and "Ah-shih-ma," a long poem transmitted orally by a Southwest minority group and now rendered into Han Chinese language by Huang Ti, People's Literature, May 7, 1954.

21. This, before minorities have their own written language, amounts to sinicization of minorit people with Chinese literature in ways which do no seem "imperialistic" to minority peoples. On the other hand, cultural heritages of the Chinese people may be enriched by the assimilation of cultures of minority groups through literature.

535 Cantata (Sheng-ch'an Ta-ho-ch'ang) was transformed into an operatic spectacle. The new song-and-dance version is divided into four scenes, celebrating the times of spring cultivation, seeding, harvest, and prosperity, to portray the rural working people's enthusiasm for production and their prosperity as a result of the Communist "liberation."[25]

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563 The minority groups in the Southwest have many forms of folk dances. During the war with Japan and in the postwar years, folk dances such as the Drinking Party of the Chia-jung (Chia-jung Chiu-hui) became popular among student groups in all parts of China. The Cultural Corps (Wen-kung t'uan) of the Central Institute of Nationalities at Peking has been visiting the minority communities in Southwest China and has adapted some of the dances of the minority peoples for performance in Peking, in other Chinese cities, and abroad. Among those performed are the "Flute Dance" (a courtship dance) and "Wedding Dance" of the Miao people, "Happy Sun" (a tap dance) and "Good Harvest" (a traditional dance around a family cooking stove) of the Tibetans in Western Szechwan and Northern Yunnan, "Please Stay, You Guests from Afar" of the Yi people, and "Peacock Dance" of the Tai (Thai) people.[26]

535 The Central Dance Corps at Peking, sponsored by the government, recently gave a "Lion

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[25] *People's Pictorial*, August 1950.

[26] *Ibid.*, July 1954.

F. Education for Minority Nationalities

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•513 With the slogan "All the ethnic groups in China are brothers in a big family," the Communists have been encouraging the establishment of a program to provide educational opportunities for minority nationals. Regular schools are encouraged to enroll minority nationals, and special schools have been established for minority groups. Communist statistics asserted that in 1951 there were 9,103 special primary schools (with 943,285 students) and 117 secondary schools (with 45,628 students) throughout China. These figures, it was claimed, increased in 1952 to 10,668 (1,474,244 students) for primary schools, and 182 (90,000 students) for secondary schools.[59] At the end of 1953, the Communists claimed that over 4,000,000 minority nationals were attending schools,[60] and this would mean that one out of every eight minority nationals was attending school.

In Southwest China, three colleges and a number of middle and special technical schools have been established; the total enrollment of these schools in 1951 was 6,800.

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[59] Ibid., March 1954, pp. 40-42.
[60] Ibid., Oct. 1954, p. 35.

871 563 In addition, 130,000 minority nationals attended spare-time schools in the same year. In 1952, the enrollment of regular middle schools and colleges for minority nationalities in Southwest China increased to 10,000. There were also 694 primary schools with 200,000 students.[61] By 1952, the three colleges for minority nationalities had graduated 3,000 [665] students. The special courses arranged for minority cadres had graduated 25,000 students, including 379 women.[62]

871 563 186 The Communists claimed that their policy of providing educational opportunities for minority nationalities had met with warm reception. At the same time, the Communists also admitted difficulties in convincing the minority peoples with their "benevolent" intentions. At Ma-erh-k'ang in western Szechwan Province, the establishment of a primary school at the beginning was eyed by the local people with suspicion. Parents were hesitant to send their children to school for fear that the school was going to take their children away from home. It was after much persuasion that more parents began to let their children attend school, increasing the enrollment from 40 in 1951 to 126 in 1954.[63]

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61. Southwest China Behind the Iron Curtain, pp. 17-19.

62. Ibid., pp. 9-10.

63. Primary School Teacher, Sept. 1954, p. 20.

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IV. MOHAMMEDANISM

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Islam was introduced into China, not by missionaries but by immigrants arriving overland from the west and northwest and by sea to Canton; they have since spread until there are some in every province, although the highest concentration is in the northwest and southwest. Since their ancestors were immigrants, the Mohammedans have been treated by Chinese governments as both an ethnic minority and a religious group. (Hence, cf. the chapter on Ethnic Minorities.) Adherents have tended to live in separate communities, their mores and customs governed by religious law rather than by the laws and customs of China. Not only did Islam prescribe for the believer a different way of life from that of the Chinese, it also had international connections and a tradition of militancy. These aspects of Mohammedanism made their communities in China the object of government distrust, and governments in modern times have alternated between policies of suppression and of appeasement.

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41. (continued) p. 3, and JMJP, July 7, 1955, p. 3.

42. The account of the suppression of I-kuan tao and other secret societies in the Kalgan area includes details of their considerable resourcefulness. Cf. SCMP, No. 1078, pp. 27-28.

[redacted]
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779 The Chinese Mohammedan is set apart
563 from other Chinese by such special customs
and observances as these: many greetings are exchanged in Arabic or Persian; believers wear white headdresses resembling turbans; they abstain from alcohol and pork; marriage and funeral rites are different from the Chinese, e.g., they do not use coffins in burial. Traditionally, they seldom engage in farming but rather in certain occupations which in some areas they virtually monopolize: keeping inns and organizaing caravans, butchering, leather working, metal-work, or managing shops which deal in curios and jewelry. Because of oppression and a strong sense of religious community, they tend to live in special districts or streets. They have been more inclined towards athletics and military careers than the Chinese.[43]

779 The Moslem sector of a city or the Moslem
794 village community centers on its mosque presided
563 over by its Iman, usually elected from among
senior leaders; the Imam and the elders invite an Ahung who preaches, settles disputes,

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[43] Chan, op. cit., p. 6; Encyclopedia of China Problems, pp. 421-22.

779 interprets Islamic law, and presides at
563 ceremonies.[44] The Ahung is usually versed in
794 Arabic, although until very recently few had any direct contact with major centers of Islam in the Near East.

779 In the Southwest China, Mohammedan
563 communities are found in all provinces, but by far the highest concentration is in the province of Yunnan where tension and conflict between Han-Chinese and the Moslems has been endemic in modern times. The following table indicates the provincial distribution of believers and religious establishments (probably places of worship rather than Islamic schools or any such institutions) throughout the region as of 1938.[45] Population estimates for the same period are added to suggest the proportion of Moslems in the total population. The source of the Moslem figures gives the total number of Moslems in China as more than 48,000,000, a figure that some scholars regard as far too high.[46]

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[44] Chan, op. cit., p. 189; Encyclopedia of China Problems.

[45] Chung-kuo Nien-chien [Chinese Yearbook], 1948, pp. 126-27.

[46] Cf. the admirable summary of the statistical argument in Chan, op. cit., pp. 187-88. Chan, p. 188, note 12, cites the leading Chinese Mohammaden scholar Pai-Shou-i's estimate of between 30 and 40 million Moslems in China. The picture publication Chinese Moslems, Peking, the Foreign Languages Press, 1955, gives the figure 10 million.

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Province	Pop. in Millions	Moslems	Mosques
Szechwan	48.	2,615,330	2,279
Yunnan	15.	4,567,290	3,971
Kweichow	14.3	519,160	449

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668 Islam in modern times has manifested some of the tendencies which Buddhism showed under the impact of various modernizing forces. One of these was the tendency for lay leaders to rise in influence over the Ahung. Another was the foundation of a Chinese Islamic Association in 1912 to represent the interests of all Chinese Moslems, to work for social reform, and to foster closer relations between Moslems and non-Moslems. It claimed 3,000 branches by 1923. Its successors participated in the resistance against Japan, sponsored students abroad and the importation of modern scholars of the Koran from other countries, and developed young men's associations and medical services.[47] The total effect of this activity was to foster a trend to liberality and modernity. It served also to identify the Chinese Moslems with the national aspirations of other Chinese.

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[47] Cf. Chan op. cit., pp. 190-91.

779 795 As the Chinese Moslems came out of isolation and into contact with the rest of Islam and with modern culture generally, there was a considerable difference of view as to the perpetuation of Islam in China. Visits to Mecca in the 1780's had impressed some Chinese Moslems with how far, in their long isolation, they had diverged from orthodox practices. This experience led to the foundation of the New Sect, which stressed return to pure and orthodox Islamic practices. They were resisted by the Old Sect, which favored holding to the customary ways developed in China through the centuries. A new New Sect (Tsan-hsin chiao) was founded by Ma Fu-ch'u (1794-1874) of Yunnan Province, and this sect, emphasizing religious ethics, the spirit rather than the letter of scripture, and modernism in dress, has recently been strong along the coast of China and has spread to modern cultural centers.[48]

779 ● 563 873 Chinese Mohammedans, in their moves towards modernism, came to accept the Chinese translation of the Koran, hitherto only in the sacred language of Arabic. They had, by 1936, opened eleven high schools for Moslem children, and they began to send students abroad to foreign centers of Islamic learning. Yunnan

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[48] *Ibid.*, pp. 192-94.

779 Province led in this movement; in 1937,
563 eighteen Chinese students were sent to Egypt,
873 and half of these were from Yunnan. By 1930,
the Islamic Theological College attached to the Chungking mosque had been in operation five years, and the Chinese Islamic Association had set up or co-ordinated two hundred primary schools and twenty high schools.[49] Yet the spread of modern type education was handicapped by the poverty of the Moslem communities and by religious prejudice against Chinese learning. For example Shantien, in Yunnan, was the outstanding Islamic cultural center in China and sent more students abroad than any other town; yet in 1949 it had a population of only 5,000, of which two were college graduates and "some thirty" high school graduates; it had one grade school with 360 students but no high school.[50]

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668 What have been Chinese Communist policies toward the problem of Chinese Islam, a problem that involves some areas where they are a major segment of the population and other areas where they represent a cohesive, slowly modernizing religious community? (The

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[49] Ibid., pp. 198-201.
[50] Ibid., p. 200.

779 668 The Chinese Communists' policy towards the Moslems has been affected by two factors which do not influence their policies towards other religions: (1) the Russian pattern of handling integrated minority groups through various types of "culturally autonomous" organizations; (2) Chinese ambitions in Islamic areas of Asia which foster tactical tolerance towards the Islamic minority in China. Thus the glamorized picture publication Chinese Moslems has texts in English, Chinese, Arabic, and Indonesian, and its introduction ends with the greeting "Salaam to all peace-loving Moslems."[54] Selections from the works of Mao Tse-tung have been translated into Arabic for the indoctrination of the Ahungs who do not read Chinese; probably these translations will be used in Indonesia and other countries where Arabic is a sacred lingua-franca. Mosques in "show" cities such as Canton, Shanghai, and Peking have been renovated and serve to demonstrate to Moslem visitors the "reality" of Communist China's promise of religious freedom.

779 563 We have little detailed and reliable information on the Islamic communities of the

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[54] Chinese Moslems, introduction.

779 Southwest today. But some trends should be
563 noted. The education of Islamic youth, although special Moslem schools have been set up by the government, will be in the pattern ordained by the goverment, and the youth will tend in time to become more Communist than Moslem.[55] Secondly, the break-up of the closely knit communities in the Southwest will probably
779 proceed apace. The Communist government
563 boasts of the increasing number of Moslem youth
177 now classified as "workers";[56] this means integration of the youth into new state-ordained patterns of activity in factories and workers organizations; it means that they will slowly be alienated from their parents' values as well as from their parents' occupational roles. Thirdly, as Moslems increasingly share in government and social activities, there will be less inclination on their part towards a defensive separatism; it is claimed, for example that 72 Moslems have been deputies to Shanghai municipal and chü congresses, and token participation tends to bring them into new orbits of activity.[57] Among the 29,000

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[55] A NCNA dispatch of June 9, 1955 states that there are five primary and one middle school for Moslems in Shanghai and that 90 per cent of the students have received free or reduced tuition.

[56] NCNA, Peking, June 10, 1955; SCMP, 1067, p. 23.

[57] Ibid.

779 Moslems in Shanghai, measures have allegedly
563 been taken to provide for their special
177 religious dietary needs,[58] and there are references to special food shipments for Ramadan. Such measures would tend to reduce initial suspicion and resistance among the Moslems and, in the long run, to make integration easier. The processes of Communization, secularization, and integration will probably advance less rapidly in a strongly Moslem province such as Yunnan than in the provinces of North China and the Yangtze valley. The measures we have noted plus the activity of the Moslem cadre, backed by the full force and apparatus of Communist government, will ultimately do more to reduce the age-old separatism and resistance of Islam than the measures of earlier Chinese governments.

V. CATHOLICISM

779 The older of the two Christian faiths in
797 China has had 350 years of missionary and organizational experience. It is, in China as elsewhere, resourceful, flexible, and highly disciplined. In modern China, Catholicism has repeatedly come under nationalistic attack

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[58] Ibid.

744 in 1952, and 68.75 per cent in 1953. Vaccinations and inoculations against smallpox, diphtheria, whooping cough, and tuberculosis were given
[751] to children. In the three-year period, 56,197 children were given B.C.G. shots and 96,293 children received preventive care against whooping cough. In the city there were 125 nurseries (including feeding rooms), caring for some 6,000 children.[7]

IV. MINORITY NATIONALITIES

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563 The Southwest Region, like the Central-South Region, has a number of minority peoples scattered throughout it. Cultural advancement programs conducted by the Communist government among these groups are often publicized by the press. The government believes that through education and medical work it can exercise a strong control over minority nationalities areas.[8]

744 In August 1951, the Ministry of Health
563 called the National Conference on Health of the
164 Minority Nationalities. In this conference it

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7. New China Daily, June 2, 1953, p. 3.

8. Kung-fei K'ung-chih-hsia-ti Kuei-chou [Kweichow Under the Control of the Communists], The Sixth Section of the Central Committee of the Nationalist Party, 1955, p. 15.

744 was reported that the minority groups in both
563 the Southwest and the Central-South suffered
164 from malaria, cerebrospinal meningitis,
diphtheria, scarlet fever, typhoid, and recurrent fever. These contagious diseases took a heavy toll of lives and caused a serious loss of manpower. In Yunnan Province in 1950, from 64 to 94 per cent of the children of the minority peoples were affected with enlargement of the spleen, and 39 per cent had malarial parasites in their blood. The basic measures proposed for the improvement of health conditions in the minority nationalities were the establishment of additional public health agencies and the training of additional health workers.[9]

744 Two years later, twenty-five mobile health
563 corps units had been formed and were serving the minority nationalities areas in Southwest China, according to Communist sources. Not only were the treatments and preventive injections said to have been administered free, but the dissemination of modern methods of sanitation and education in hygiene were the responsibility of these traveling medical workers. A special effort was made to train members of minority groups as health workers among their own people. Incomplete statistics for 1949-52

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[9] Current Background, American Consulate-General, Hong Kong, No. 152, pp. 5-7.

744 563 claim that among minority groups in the Southwest Region, 98,406 people received free medical treatment and 72,900 people were given vaccination against smallpox.[10]

V. THE PATRIOTIC HEALTH MOVEMENT

744 668 In 1952 the Communists launched the Patriotic Health Drive. It was designed primarily to integrate health work with the mass propaganda campaign which accused the United States of engaging in bacteriological warfare. The Patriotic Health Drive was, therefore, stimulated by the conflict in Korea and became a part of the Resist-America-Aid-Korea Movement. In the name of patriotism the Chinese people were called upon to clean their cities and work for the general improvement of environmental hygiene.

Upon the launching of the Patriotic Health Drive in April 1952, some 70 to 80 per cent of the population in the key cities of the Southwest Region were mobilized. According to statistics released in September 1952, the following accomplishments were claimed:

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10. New China Daily, Sept. 25, 1952, p. 3.

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Some women hold high posts in government, and there are "labor heroines" in all industries. Housewives of well-to-do families in larger cities may live in leisure. Those of families of modest means may have to accept employment, but as long as the work does not require strength, they do not resent it. The age-group differential asserts itself in the reaction of women to the new regime; older women who had learned to live in peace with the extended family system are likely to dread the Communist effort to reduce the extended family to the conjugal family; young women are more apt to feel favorably disposed toward the Peking regime.

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A sharp difference in attitude is to be observed between the women in such urban centers as Chungking and Chengtu, and those in the vast frontier areas where little urbanization has taken place. City life, plus opportunity to receive education in new schools, had caused changes in attitudes among women in urban centers even before the Communist regime announced its policy with regard to women and their status in society. Such women are likely to expect much of their "emancipation" and resent the Communist effort to add them to the labor force. To them sustained Communist indoctrination may amount to boredom. In the outlying villages, women remain more strictly tradition-bound and are less prepared to accept the new roles the Communists have assigned them.

VI. MINORITY NATIONALITIES

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Among the regions in China proper, the Southwest has the largest number of ethnic

563 184 minority groups. Traditionally isolated to varying degrees, these groups had been given little reason to feel favorably disposed toward a central government in China; in their eyes, a central authority appeared a threat to their traditional way of life. Until it has been proven that by identifying themselves as a part of the "greater" Chinese community they would be in a better position to realize their aspirations, it would be difficult for these groups to share the national feelings of the Han-Chinese.

The Communist government has been trying to cultivate a feeling of kinship between all the ethnic groups and to assimilate the minority nationals without provoking their resentment. Preferential treatment has been extedned minority nationals who left their villages for the Han-Chinese areas. Many of the ethnic minorities have been granted "autonomous" status by the Central People's Government to win their support. Schools have been established and languages designed for the minority groups so that Communist ideology can be taught to them. Special efforts have been made to publicize the achievements of individuals belonging to such groups. All these measures are meant to foster a favorable attitude among the minority groups toward the Peking regime.

It is impossible to measure the success or failure of the Communist policy toward the minority groups at this stage. However, it appears reasonable to say that the Communists have been doing more to win support from these groups than to alienate them.

178 499 653 Another problem was the number of steel plants and textile mills which had been established in the Southwest during war against Japan. The years of civil war in 1949 and 1950 had produced a depression, and industry and commerce could no longer maintain themselves. As a remedy the Communists proposed the construction of the Chungking-Chengtu Railroad. In spite of the great financial difficulties in which the Communist central government was involved at that time, it was decided to invest an amount of money equivalent to 76,000,000 catties of rice for highway construction and 180,000,000 catties for railroad construction. These projects stimulated the revival of the steel, coal, and electrical engineering industries and the economic condition of Szechwan gradually improved.

● 563 162 A further problem special to this region was that of the national minorities which amounted, according to the latest census and the report of Wang Wei-chou, to about 12 million

Tibetans	2,775,627
Yi People	3,254,269
Miao People	2,511,339
Chung-chia	1,600,000
Mohammedans	1,000,000
Min-chia	600,000
Thai People	400,000
Total	12,341,235

636 563 In order to meet the demands of these minorities, autonomous areas were established. The Tibetans in Sikang constitute a special area, even though

563 the latter is now a part of the province of Szechwan.
636 Below the provincial level, there are 21 autonomous
631 counties, 15 autonomous sections below the county
563 level and 49 autonomous hsiang. In addition, 11 administrative district, 53 county, 27 section, and 72 hsiang coalition governments representing different nationalities have been formed.[7] The Communist Regime attached special importance to winning over the national minorities in order to counteract Kuomintang efforts at infiltration.

635 For a short period the Chinese Communists tried a system of Regional Governments called "The Military and Political Committees of the Greater Areas" for the regions of China proper; and in Manchuria "The People's Government of the Northeast." The Regional Governments were patterned after the Union Republics of the USSR. However, after a two-year period of experiment they were found unsatisfactory and condemned by Liu Shao-ch'i as "Independent Kingdoms." Chou En-lai's Government Administration Council then passed a resolution in November 1952 that the Committee of the region should change its name from the Military and Political Committee to the Administrative Committee, with the status of an agent of the Central Government. After the nature and function of the Administrative Committee was changed into that of an agent of the Central Government, the members of the same committee were no more appointed by the Central People's Government, that is, Mao Tse-tung's Council, but were recommended by the Government Administration Council -- Chou En-lai. Though the Political-Legal Commission, Financial-Economical Com-

[7. on following page]

204 33 at the administrative level, and 183 at the *hsien* level. The aggregate circulation figure for all the regional and provincial papers was 600,000; no information on the circulation of the other 216 papers is available.[5] It is not certain whether these figures included any non-government organ, but it is presumed that no "independent" voices existed in the midst of a government-controlled press.

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563 The inauguration of a Tibetan-language newspaper on June 10, 1953 in northern Szechwan may prove to be of far-reaching significance. Named *Minchiang Pao* [*Min River Daily*], this paper is intended for the Tibetan minority population inhabiting the upper reaches of the Min River. The first issue of the paper appeared in tabloid form, and carrying a portrait of Mao Tse-tung and messages from officials of the Tibetan Autonomous Area in Szechwan Province. The paper was to appear every five days.[6] Establishment of minority-language newspapers is in line with Peking's policy toward the non-Chinese speaking ethnic groups on the Mainland. Unfortunately no sample of this paper is available for analysis.

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5. *Ibid*., September 30, 1952, p. 3.

6. *Survey of China Mainland Press*, No. 593, Hong Kong, American Consulate-General, June 19, 1953, p. 20.

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208 difficulty in finding eager buyers.[26]

4. Libraries and Cultural Centers

217 In order that financial strain may not curb the people's desire to read, the Communists in Southwest China have designed and established small libraries throughout this region to serve the workers, farmers, and shopkeepers. Librarie already in existence in larger cities were reorganized in 1949. According to anti-Communist reports, the original collections at these old libraries were all destroyed by the Communists and restocked with propaganda pamphlets. The Communist press admitted a wave of book burning in 1951-52.[27] However, that cultural disaster was said to have most seriously affected Central-South China and, to a lesser degree, East China. There has been no specific report on book destruction at any particular place in Southwest China. The small libraries established by the Reds numbered thirty-eight, with a total of 3,255,000 volumes by September 1952.[28] About twenty of those libraries were found in Szechwan Province.

368 The cultural center is a version of the Communist cultural palace on a smaller scale. Both are provided for Communist-conducted cultural activities such as discussion group meetings, political rallies, and reading classes. The larger

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563 26. There is no information on the exact scope of distribution of books printed in minority languages in this region. However, it has been Peking's policy to promote such distribution wherever national minorities are found. In 1951, a

[continued next page]

368 ones have facilities for showing motion pictures. Most of them have enough space for reading rooms. In September 1952, there were 294 such cultural centers open to public in Southwest China, and they were claimed to have been effective in educating the masses. It is claimed that in 1951, the cultural centers in northern Szechwan alone enabled over 9,000,000 people to receive "political propaganda," and that about 1,700,000 people attended reading classes there.[29] The official plan for 1952 was to increase the number of libraries to 2,500.[30] It is not known if this goal had been reached.

203 Mobile bookstores and libraries on wheels found in North and East China appear in Southwest China in a different manner. Lack of means of transportation in this region has forced the people to go on foot, and so a new term, "cultural couriers," for the people who work for the mobile bookstores and libraries on wheels, has been coined. Each courier carried two loads of books and periodicals on a pole on his shoulder, and travels on the back roads of the countryside. He brings the publications to the doors of the farmers, usually announcing his arrival with a gong. This mode of peddling is not new, but the goods peddled are. Large crowds

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214 total of 2,200,000 copies of 176 different titles were
563 printed in minority languages and distributed throughout China. These figures were increased to 4,300,000 and 376 respectively in 1952. NCNA Peking, Jan.15,1953,. quoted in SCMP, No.493, Jan.16,1953, pp.13-14.

[27] Enlightenment Daily, Peking, Jan.25, '53, p.3.

[28] New China Daily, Sept.30,1952, p.3.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Ibid., Oct. 1, 1951, p. 3.

491 total length of them must run to some hundreds of thousands of miles. When new they may be fairly good, but they are seldom repaired, and the Chinese proverb well describes them as "Good for ten years, and bad for ten thousand." It is always a great relief to get into some out-of-the-way part of the country where there is only what the Chinese contemptuously describe as an "earth road." These paved roads have their uses however in the rainy season, as the stones prevent the path becoming an impassable morass.

On the 18th January we crossed the Shweli by one of the famous iron-chain suspension bridges. There are a considerable number of these bridges in western China, especially in western and southern Yün-nan. The chains, which are usually ten or twelve in number, are solidly embedded in massive piers of brick or stone on each side of the river, and the roadway is made by planks laid across these. Loaded animals can cross them, and though they sway about a good deal, they will stand a lot of weight.

133 The river is some 40 yards wide, with a strong current running over a rocky bed. It does not come from any great distance, and in a subsequent journey I was able to fix the position of its source approximately. There is no actual flat plain in this part of its course, but to the west the slope is very gradual to the foot of the steep part of the hills three miles off, and there are numerous Chinese villages both up and down the valley. The river is called by many names. To the Burmese it is known as the Shweli, to the Chinese as the Lung-ch'uan Chiang, or more commonly as simply the Lung Chiang or Dragon River. The Shans call it the Nam Yang in the upper part of its course, but change its name to Nam Mow when it enters the Möng Mow plain.

From the river there is a stiff ascent, at first through the usual dried up grass and fern, and higher up through bamboo and tree jungle. We camped at the little Panthay village of T'ai-p'ing-p'u at 7,400 feet, and had a very hard frost at night.

563 Panthay is the name which we have adopted from the Burmese for the Mahommedans of Yün-nan. The Chinese name for Mahommedans is *hui-tzŭ* or *hui-hui*. The name

563 Panthay has become fairly familiar to Europeans from the great Panthay rebellion which was the means of devastating and depopulating Yün-nan from 1854 to 1873, in
563 which latter year it was finally put down. The rebellion
669 began in a quarrel between Chinese and Mahommedan miners, in which the latter thought, probably with reason, that they did not get justice from the Chinese official who investigated the case. The two races are never very friendly, and the Panthays were quite ready to take up arms in hopes of turning Yün-nan or part of Yün-nan into a Mahommedan state where they would be independent of Chinese officials. They had a very good try for it, and for some years they held the greater part of the west of the province, with Ta-li as the capital. Finally the Chinese Government, having, with Gordon's assistance, put down the Taiping rebellion, were able to turn all their forces against the Panthays. Ta-li was taken by the treachery of a Mahommedan officer, and the rebellion brought to an end with the usual slaughter of thousands of the rebels.

The two races naturally hate each other and always will do so, but there is no enmity observable on the outside. A Chinaman and a Mahommedan meeting will always be quite civil to each other. The Mahommedanism of the Panthays is really a very nominal affair, and I do not suppose that Mahommedans so ignorant of their religion could be found anywhere. This ignorance is no doubt partly due to their being isolated among a non-Mahommedan people, but I think also partly to their Chinese origin, for a Chinaman is not by nature a religious man. Though there is doubtless a certain amount of Arab or Tartar blood among the Panthays, they have far more Chinese in them than anything else. I imagine most of their ancestors were Tartars or Turkomans who came into the province with Kublai Khan's armies, but these men must have married Chinese wives. Also many of the present Panthays have their origin from Chinese children who have been adopted by Mahommedans and brought up in that religion. In some cases one can tell a Mahommedan by his features, but very often they are undistinguishable from the Chinese.

563 Along the main road from T'êng-yüeh to Ta-li there

●563 is a considerable Mahommedan population, and they are found distributed all over the province, more in some districts than in others. Perhaps in Yung-ch'ang, Ta-li, and Yün Chou there is a larger proportion of Panthays than in other towns. Sometimes one finds Mahommedan colonies in very out of the way places, probably men who have taken refuge there after the suppression of the rebellion; and even in the Shan States within British territory there are two or three Panthay settlements.

No doubt the numbers of the Yün-nan Mahommedans were considerably thinned by wholesale massacres when the Chinese troops finally got the best of them, but I do not suppose they ever formed a very large proportion of the inhabitants of the province. At present I should say at a guess they would not amount to more than three per cent. of the total population. Mahommedans are distributed all over China, and I do not think there is any province which has none, but I believe the proportion in Yün-nan is greater than in any other province except Kan-su. It is often supposed that Chinese Mahommedans are more honest and straightforward than the real Chinamen, but from what I have seen of them I very much doubt if this is the case in Yün-nan: their customs and ways of thought are quite Chinese.

133 We had not reached the top of the range at T'ai-p'ing-p'u and our road on the 19th still led up till the Shweli-Salween watershed was crossed at a height of 8000 feet. The highest point of the range is a conical peak called Kao-li-kung which lies 10 or 12 miles to the north of the road and is some 12,000 feet high. The pass by which the road crosses is called *Fêng-k'ou, The Wind Pass*, and well merits its name. Here on each side of the road are stone walls which are said to have formerly supported an arch like those of the frontier "gates": this now forms the boundary between the T'êng-yüeh and Yung-ch'ang districts. I climbed up on to a little knoll to the north of the road to take some angles, and got an excellent view of the hills to the north, east and west: Tabu Pum and other prominent peaks near Sadon were clearly visible.

From the top we had a long bit of downhill to the valley of the Salween. The Chinese call this river the far before a tremendous storm of thunder and hail burst 000 over us. Many of the trees had been cut half through by woodcutters and they came crashing down in all directions. One fell just in front of our leading mule, not missing him by very much, and blocking the path completely, so that we had some difficulty in finding a way round. In the evening we got down to Hsia-mêng-ying, and found shelter in one of the buildings of a very fine Shan monastery built on a terrace and surrounded by a paved court-yard. The town is a large one for this part of the world, containing 250 houses, chiefly built of mud, and inhabited by Shans.

Our quarters were so comfortable that I halted here a day to give us an opportunity of drying our clothes, which had been drenched through by the thunder-storm the day before. This little district is called Möng Nyim by the 631 Shans. It is divided into two small plains along the same river, one called Shang-mêng-ying or Möng Nyim-nö, and the other Hsia-mêng-ying or Möng Nyim-taü. These names simply mean Upper and Lower Möng Nyim respectively. The district is really part of Mêng-lien (Möng Lem), a Shan state which formerly paid tribute both to Burma and China, but has now, by agreement with the British Government, become Chinese territory.

Möng Nyim, however, is now no longer governed by the Möng Lem sawbwa, but was at the time of my visit directly under the Chinese official at Shun-ning, though it was not then quite settled whether it was to remain under Shun-ning or to form part of the newly established district of Chên-pien.

Living among the Shans of this plain is a small colony 563 of twenty Panthay families who have been here for four or five generations. They have intermarried with the Shans, and now talk Shan among themselves, but still keep up the Mahommedan religion and have a mosque in their village.

After a day's rest we went on to Shang-mêng-ying, a smaller place than the lower town, though it is in this upper plain that the sawbwa lives. Möng Nyim lies at an elevation of only 3,300 feet, so the next day we had to climb the usual range of hills and in five miles reached Nan-wa, the headquarters of Colonel Li who was in command of all the troops in this district.

The La-hu chief also still lives here and has a certain 622
amount of authority. He is a quiet, simple-minded old
gentleman, quite a jungle man. He told me that the Shans 563
formerly inhabited this place, but four or five generations ago the La-hus came down from the neighbourhood of Mien-ning and drove them out. The Shans retired to Möng Lem, but there are still a few families of Shan descent living in the villages round.

The inhabitants of Ch'üan-lo and the neighbourhood seem now to be chiefly La-hus who have taken to Chinese customs, and who, many of them, now call themselves Chinamen. There are also a few real Chinese living in the town, but the total absence of curiosity among the people here soon made one realise that one was not among a Chinese population. Hardly a soul came to stare at me all day.

On the 27th of March we crossed a range of hills at a little over 6000 feet, and descended very steeply to the Mekong at the village of Nan-pei. The ferry village of this name where I camped is inhabited by La-hus, but the people of the main village of Nan-pei, which is 1½ miles short of the ferry, are P'u-mans, a tribe which is very much split up into small communities. They were apparently of the same family as the Las, Was, and Palaungs, but have become so scattered and isolated from each other that I have found some villages of them who have forgotten their own tongue and now talk the Wa, the Shan, or even the Chinese language.

The Mekong is here at an altitude of 2,300 feet, and 133
runs, as usual with this river, between very steep hills with practically no level ground outside the river bed. I had great difficulty in finding room to pitch one small tent.

The next day we crossed the river in a large boat much resembling an English punt. At this time of year animals can be swum across, but in the rains the current is very strong, and this big boat is used to convey mules as well as men. The average width of this part of the Mekong is some 80 yards. Even in the dry season there is a fairly strong stream and the water is thick and muddy.

This ferry seems to be a good deal used. Quite a 000
hundred mules crossed it while I was there, all carrying

elevation here is only 2,500 feet, and the day was very 000 close and hot with a thick mist which made surveying difficult. After crossing we ascended 1000 feet to Ch'ou-shui to camp.

The next day, 1st April, we crossed the river which, coming from the town of P'u-êrh, flows into the Wei-yüan Chiang a little below the crossing. It is here 30 yards wide and easily fordable in the dry weather. In the rains, however, it often becomes impassable, and, as there is no S boat, travellers have nothing to do but to exercise patience [137] and sit down on the river bank till the flood subsides. The hills about here were covered with wild raspberries just ripe, a yellow variety very common in the Shan States and S P in some parts of Yün-nan. 563 ●

The next day we passed through the little village of Man-mu which is inhabited by Shans who came here from P the province of Chiang-hsi seven generations ago. Their 197 language is distinctly Shan, but it is a peculiar dialect and they have some difficulty in making themselves understood by the others of their race in the neighbourhood. They say they do not know why they came here and that they are the only Chiang-hsi Shans[1] in this part of the country. But they are quite positive that they did come from Chiang-hsi, which they describe as being three months' journey away.

That night we slept at the Lo-lo village of Na-ku and the next day, the 4th April, an easy march brought us into Ssŭ-mao.

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[1] The Chung-chia of Kuei-chou are stated to be a mixture of Shan and Chinese, their ancestors on the Chinese side of the family having been soldiers who were natives of Chiang-hsi. It is possible that the villagers of Man-mu are Chung-chia who have emigrated here, but they did not tell me that they came from Kuei-chou.

000 From Prince Henri's account of his travels they must have reached Ssŭ-mao the day after I left it.

On the 5th April we started northward for P'u-êrh. The road, which is fairly easy, crosses a range at 6,300 feet and descends to Na-k'o-li, where we slept. A Tibetan caravan of 300 or 400 mules, all laden with tea, was on the road going the same way as ourselves. They were natives of the Wei-hsi[1] district, and told me that there would be an unusual number of Tibetans at Ssŭ-mao that tea season as there was to be a big festival in Tibet the following year, when it would be necessary to make presents of tea to the Lamas. At night they fastened all their mules up very close together and had ferocious looking dogs on long ropes tied up all round to guard against thieves.

I found these men very pleasant, and subsequent experience proved that Tibetans in China and Chinamen in Tibet always are very friendly. No doubt the feeling of being isolated in the midst of strangers knocks some of their natural bumptiousness out of them. I have heard Englishmen in Rangoon expatiate on the pleasant manners of the Chinese. Perhaps they would think less of their manners if they had seen the Chinaman in his own country. It is, however, fair to add that a great deal of the apparent bad manners of the Chinese is unintentional. It comes natural to them, and they are not in the least aware that they are bad mannered.

•563 On this march I came across a tribe which was new to
291 me. They call themselves Pa-hawng, and the Chinese name for them is Ma-hei. They are distinguished from other tribes as usual by the women's dress, which consists of a short black jacket with silver ornaments hanging down over it from their necks, and black trousers reaching down to the knee. They plait their hair into a pig-tail and wear no sort of head-dress. The married women have a piece of cloth round their waists which hangs down over their trousers[2]. Their language is of the Lo-lo type.

631 On the 6th April 12½ miles of a road, which would be good if it was not paved, brought us into P'u-êrh Fu, the most important official town, as Ssŭ-mao is the chief

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[1] Lat. 27° 10', long. 99° 10'.

[2] See Plate LXXII, facing p. 394.

to understand. The place was originally a Shan state but 361 has now become a *t'ing* under a regular Chinese official.

After my experience in P'u-êrh I had rather made up 317 my mind to give up calling on officials, but the Wei-yüan *T'ing* came to see me himself soon after I arrived and was very friendly. The principal product of the place is salt. There are several mines in the valley of the Wei-yüan Chiang, and there is a good deal of trade in this commodity with the neighbouring districts. The elevation of the plain is about 3000 feet and the place is considered feverish by the Chinese.

Two more days crossing a range at 6,300 feet brought us 000 on the 14th April to Mêng-ka[1], which, like Wei-yüan, was formerly a Shan state and still has a Shan sawbwa, though the place is now incorporated in the Wei-yüan district. The plain lies somewhat higher than that of Wei-yüan and, though some 15 miles long, is much cut up by rather high-lying ground, which cannot be irrigated and is uncultivated and covered with jungle. Mêng-ka is not a place of any 563 importance, and there is little or no trade in it. The population of the place is Shan, but in the town itself there is a Chinese bazar village, and a few families of Panthays also live here.

I halted a day to rest the mules and left again on the 000 16th. Our road took us gradually up a range of 7000 feet, from which there is a magnificent view of the surrounding hills and of the course of the Mekong valley, which can be traced for a long way. The next day a very steep descent brought us to the Mekong which we crossed by a large punt-shaped ferry-boat to the mixed Shan and Chinese village of Ta-pêng or Ta-pong. The river is as usual shut in by very steep hills. It is about 100 yards wide, with a strong current and full of rapids, so much so that in the rains the ferry is sometimes impassable for a few days at a time. Probably this is also the case with other ferries over the Mekong. The height of the river at Ta-pêng is 2,800 feet.

On the 18th we had a very stiff piece of climbing, reaching the top of the range at 7,400 feet. From here the

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[1] Möng Ka in Shan.

000 road descends slightly and turns up another valley to the mixed Chinese and La-hu village of Man-nung[1], where there is an official with the rank of *Hsün-chien* and a guard of 10 Chinese soldiers. I put up in a good-sized temple, built to commemorate the names of the principal civil and military mandarins who took part in the fighting against the La-hus. At the time of my visit the La-hus had been completely subdued and there was no large Chinese garrison in this neighbourhood.

563 Two more days of hilly marching brought us to Mêng-mêng[2] on the 20th April. Since crossing the Mekong we had been again in a country in which the La-hus form the greater part of the population. This tribe is almost entirely confined to the tract between the Salween and the Mekong. Among them there is in this neighbourhood a sprinkling of Chinese and also some Was or Las. The Chinese and La-hus often live together in the same village, and the latter seem now quite reconciled to Chinese rule. Mêng-mêng is a Shan state which was formerly subject to Kêng-ma but is now practically independent, though they still pay a nominal tribute of gold and silver flowers. The plain is some seven miles long and inhabited by Shans except for one Chinese village, the people of which are emigrants from Ching-tung T'ing who came here five generations ago. The town is the largest Shan place anywhere in this neighbourhood and contains 400 houses. It
is governed by a sawbwa who was at the time of my visit
[241] a boy of 17. The plain is well cultivated and the people
seem fairly well off, but their prosperity depends on their
rice fields; there is little or no trade in the state.

We left the next day, some of the Shan officials very civilly riding out with me two or three miles of the way, and then leaving me an escort of 10 men to go on with us
to Kêng-ma. We camped for the night at Ya-sai, a village
[197] of 40 houses inhabited by Chinese and P'u-mans. These
P'u-mans speak exactly the same language as the Las of
this district, but they do not consider themselves as at all the same race as the Las, though they cannot offer any explanation as to how they have come to use the same language.

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[1] Man-nawng is its proper Shan name.

[2] Möng Möng in Shan.

language. The fact seems to be that the P'u-mans have 563
become so split up into small and isolated communities, that many of them have lost their own language. It was not till a subsequent journey in 1899 that I came across P'u-mans who had a language of their own[1].

On the 23rd April we arrived at Kêng-ma. The town 133
is built in a plateau, a most unusual formation for this part of Yün-nan, where one generally finds nothing but a series of ranges of mountains and comparatively narrow valleys. The plateau measures about 15 miles from north to south and half this distance across. To the east, separated from it by low hills, is the Nam Hpyit[2], while two other streams run across the plateau in a generally easterly direction and find their way through gaps in these hills into that river. It is along these two streams and their small tributaries [361]
that the greater number of the villages are situated, as they are here able to cultivate narrow strips of paddy. Most of the plateau consists of open grass land, lying too high to be irrigated and not much cultivated.

The town is pleasantly placed on rising ground, and 361
contains about 300 houses, built of mud or soft bricks. The climate is excellent, and I found it quite cool at this, the hottest time of the year, though the height is only 3,850 feet. The place seems prosperous, and there were a good many Chinese traders there, among whom I found the Panthay merchant whom I had seen in Yung-ch'ang[3]. He told me that since we last met he had spoken about the proposed railway extension to Kun-long to other traders, who all agreed that it would be an excellent thing for the trade of this part of China.

The sawbwa's son came to see me soon after my 622
arrival. Having reached the age of 25, he had now taken over the government of the state, his father retiring in his favour. This is an almost universal custom among Chinese Shans. The father, however, still remains the nominal head of the state, and the son is not recognised by the Chinese Government until the father dies. Kêng-ma is one of the largest and best governed Shan States in the province of Yün-nan.

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[1] See p. 146.

[2] Nan-p'i Ho in Chinese.

[3] See p. 59.

344, 366, 438 The next day I halted, and returned the sawbwa's call in the morning. The palace was not a very imposing structure but a new one was being built close to it. It was market day in Kêng-ma, and there was a very large attendance, including a good many Chinese traders selling cotton cloth, etc. Most of the European goods appear to come from Bhamo *viâ* Yung-ch'ang. The market is held every five days according to the almost invariable custom of Burma, the Shan States, and Yün-nan. Nearly the whole country-side comes into it to buy and sell, and on market day the roads are always crowded with people from the villages coming and going. It is an opportunity for them to display their best clothes, and in places where there are many different hill tribes the variety of costume is most picturesque.

● 563 In Keng Tung in the Southern Shan States, and probably in many other places, people of a dozen different races speaking a dozen different languages may be seen in one market place. The lingua franca by which they communicate with each other is generally Shan or Chinese or both, according to the locality. In Kêng-ma there was not any extraordinary variety of tribes. The people were chiefly Shans and Las, with a good many Chinese and a few La-hus. A native of India, a Lucknow Mahommedan, also came to see me. He was employed by the Pang-long Panthays to teach their children Hindustani, Persian, and Arabic. He told me he had been there three or four years and had a great many pupils, and that the rising generation would most of them know Hindustani.

000 Chên-k'ang and get fresh men sent across from there to meet me. The next day nine miles of very hilly going brought us to Ma-li-p'ing, a large village at an elevation of nearly 7000 feet, and consequently quite cool, almost cold in fact.

On the 29th I sent on early to Mêng-hung[1] to say I was coming, and about two miles short of the town I found a man waiting in the road. He had been sent out to ask me to go round by Chên-k'ang, as there were a lot of soldiers in Mêng-hung who had just returned from an expedition against some rebels. This would have meant a detour of two or three days, so I told him I could not do so and went on towards the town. My interpreter and myself rode on ahead of the mules, and soon came on the victorious army, a miscellaneous rabble of Las, Shans, and Chinamen, armed with guns and spears. An individual, who appeared to be some sort of officer, was sitting in the road and told us we could not go on, as the town was full of soldiers. I asked him who he was, but not getting any particular answer, rode on. He then followed us and said that if we persisted in going on he would get his men together and stop us by force. We took no notice of him and rode into the town without anyone hindering us. The proper headman was said to be away in Chên-k'ang, but finally an old man was produced. I showed him my passport, but no one had learning enough to read it, so my interpreter read it to them. After some consultation in their own La language they produced two men as guides, one of whom was half or three-quarters idiotic. Both of them said they did not know the way, so I went on without them, and told the old man I should report to the Chinese officials that I had shown my passport and been refused guides. I then looked round for the man who had threatened to stop us entering the town, but found he had disappeared about the time of the reading of the passport. We had no difficulty in finding the road by asking people we met, and we slept in a Chinaman's house at the village of *K'a-fang*.

[361] Mêng-hung is a place of about 100 houses, surrounded
563 by a wall. Its population is chiefly La, but there are a

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[1] Mong Hom is the proper Shan name of this place.

good many Chinamen living there too, and most of the 563
people appear to talk both languages. They are well
known as the biggest blackguards in this part of Yün-nan, 579
and many of them are wanted by the Chinese Government for murders and other crimes, but the country is so little under Chinese control that the officials are not very keen on trying to make arrests. On a subsequent journey I again had trouble at that very town[1], the only place in Yün-nan where I have ever encountered anything like organised opposition. Mêng-hung is in Chên-k'ang territory, but the sawbwa of the latter place finds it more than he can manage and has no real authority there.

The next day we reached Mêng-pun (Möng Pawn), a 361
Shan village of 40 houses, not to be confused with Mêng-p'êng (Möng Hpawng), a somewhat larger place a day's march off W.S.W. In the afternoon a man arrived who had been sent by the Chên-k'ang sawbwa to guide us on to Mang-shih. There had been a good deal of rain lately, and it fell heavily here at night.

The recent fighting from which the warriors I met at 669
Mêng-hung had just returned, was naturally the subject of conversation everywhere in this neighbourhood, and from enquiries made at different places I gathered the following as to its origin. About the year 1890 the late sawbwa of Chên-k'ang was going round his state, and while at the village of Ya-k'ou, which lies two or three marches south-west of the capital, he was murdered by his nephew Tao-lao-wu, who usurped the sawbwaship. He, however, only held it for a few days, as a Chinaman called Ma, who lives on the hills near Hsiao-mêng-t'ung (Möng Htawng), and is one of the principal head-men of the Chên-k'ang state, got some men together, marched on the capital, killed Tao-lao-wu, and dispersed his followers. The present sawbwa, who is the son of the murdered man, and was at that time only two years old, then became the nominal ruler of the state.

Since then the adherents of Tao-lao-wu had been constantly dacoiting in the western part of Chên-k'ang, near the Burmese border. The Chinese authorities accordingly

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[1] See p. 136.

000 Man-waing[1]. The trade along this route is fairly large in the cold season, and we passed some 500 mules, loaded chiefly with walnuts, chestnuts, pears, dried figs, and a little silk and tobacco.

From Man-waing on to T'êng-yüeh is a well-known road, previously traversed by several travellers, and described in detail by Dr Anderson in his *Mandalay to Momien*, though the learned doctor gets rather mixed in his names of places.

Ryder and Watts-Jones took the main road which crosses the Taping by one of the numerous ferries over this part of its course, and goes up that river's left bank. I took a somewhat longer route round by Chan-ta[2] where I was hospitably entertained by the sawbwa, and rejoined the rest of the party at Chiu-ch'êng (Old city), the former capital of the Kan-ai[3] state. The present town is off the main road in between the two branches of the Taping just above where they join. Here lives the long-bearded sawbwa with whom we had been so friendly on our expedition to find the boundary "gates," and I was sorry I could not spare the time to go and see him.

133 Our route so far, after leaving Man-waing, had lain
[361] through a plain several miles wide, well cultivated with rice
fields, and full of prosperous Shan villages, the part on the right bank of the Taping being Chan-ta territory, and that on the left bank Kan-ai. The capital of the latter state is near the head of the plain, and above this, steep bare hills close in on the Nam Ti, the Shan name for the eastern Taping, the valley of which the road follows up.

In fifteen miles or so the valley again opens out into
[563] the comparatively narrow plain of Möng Ti, or Nan-tien
as the Chinese call it. This is also a Shan state, but the
climate being cool enough for Yün-nan Chinamen to live
[631] in, they are gradually settling there, and the population is
now nearly as much Chinese as Shan. The sawbwa rules
a large extent of territory including Möng Yang and Möng Hüm, and I believe he is also in charge of Chan-hsi, though of this I am not quite certain.

000 In this plain we passed an encampment of wandering

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[1] See p. 30.

[2] San-ta in Shan.

[3] Möng Na in Shan.

327 when hardened by repeated heatings in the furnace it is made into hatchets, hoes, and tripod stands for cooking-pots.

563 To the north of T'ien-t'ang-kuan is a very interesting country inhabited by the Li-so tribe, which I should much have liked to explore. This race I have found scattered over a very wide extent of country, as far south as the Siamese border, and as far north as the Tibetan parts of Ssŭ-ch'uan and north-western Yün-nan. In the Kachin Hills and the Shan States they are split up into very small and scattered communities, living usually on the very tops of the hills. They originally occupied a good deal of the country to the west and north of T'êng-yüeh, and I have little doubt that the Chinamen of Hsi-lien and many of the neighbouring districts have more Li-so blood in them than Chinese. At present the only district in which the Li-sos form the bulk of the population seems to be the Salween valley from about Lat. 25° 30' up to Lat. 27° 30'. Their language is closely connected with that of the Lo-los, and they are no doubt a branch of this widely-spread race. I have always found them, like the Lo-los, extremely pleasant and friendly.

Li-so is the Chinese name for this tribe. They call themselves Li-su, and the Kachins know them as Yaw-yen. In T'ien t'ang-kuan they now live on very good terms with their Chinese neighbours, but the remains of a wall round Ma-li-pa and an old two-storied stone tower close by suggest that there was a time when things were not so peaceful. Now-a-days the only enemies of the villagers are wolves, which they say hunt in large packs and will kill even big animals, such as ponies and cattle.

From Ma-li-pa I turned eastward, crossed a range at 8,700 feet by an extremely steep ascent and an equally abrupt descent, rendered more difficult by a drizzling rain. This brought us into the Ming-kuang plain which runs down the Mo-lo Ho in a valley half a mile wide.

328 We slept at the village of Hsiao-hsin-kai, and I found
[316] men smelting lead close by. The lead is found in sand and this sand is first washed in a place prepared for the purpose in a small stream. The heaviest part of it which sinks is then taken away and smelted in the furnace. Both lead and

792 ordinarily dirty and so were the monks, but they certainly impressed me with their sincerity much more than the ordinary temple priest, who is often a great blackguard, and is usually held in no respect by his fellow-countrymen.

The descent on the eastern side of the pass was as bad as the ascent had been, and we had to go down 6000 feet to the village of Ssŭ-ling-kang before we could find any shelter or forage. We got in just after dark, our mules dead beat, having taken ten hours to do the march of fourteen miles.

The next day, the 16th December, we crossed the Salween at Mêng-ku ferry at an elevation of 2,550 feet, a drop of 8000 feet from the range we had crossed the day before. The river is here 100 yards wide, running with a current which precludes all idea of navigation. In some places the hills close right in on both sides, in other places there is half a mile or a mile width of rice cultivation. The valley has the warmer climate and denser vegetation of the Shan States—quite different from all the neighbouring [244] plains of Yün-nan. It is a mild enough climate to grow chillies, and it also produces persimmons which are sold dried like figs.

•563 The population of this part of the country is small but varied. On the hills are Lo-los, Li-sos, and Chinese, while in the valley are Shans, and also Chinamen who most of them come from the neighbouring province of Ssŭ-ch'uan, the Yünnanese finding the place too hot and feverish. I do not think that the Shans extend up the Salween valley very much higher than this, for from all accounts one soon gets into a country ruled by semi-independent Li-so chiefs.

Four more marches through a very hilly country brought us to the top of the range which divides the Salween from its tributary, the Yung-ch'ang river. The road crosses it at 8,400 feet, and from the top is a fine view of range after range of beautiful mountains, the snow-capped Ts'ang 346 Shan, which overlooks Ta-li Fu, being clearly visible. We descended into the Yung-ch'ang plain and slept in a remarkable temple called the Shui-fu-ssŭ or Sleeping Buddha Temple. It is picturesquely placed at the foot of a jungle-covered spur with a piece of water in front of it. The inner shrine is a large natural cave, in which is the image

We had two more days of hilly walking, with occasional 000 glimpses of the Wan-tien plain below us to the east, and then turning in a westerly direction we went down 3000 feet to the little plain which the Chinese call Mêng-po-lo and the Shans Möng Maw. Here I pitched my tent in 778 the courtyard of the Shan monastery which stands on the bank of the Yung-ch'ang river among magnificent trees.

This place lies at an elevation of 2,300 feet, and is not far above the river's junction with the Salween. The inhabitants are all Shans, and the plain very small and poor. It is only remarkable as being one of the few places in [248] Yün-nan low enough to grow cotton. The crop is dependent on a good rainy season, and the amount produced is quite insignificant.

On the 27th December we forded the Yung-ch'ang river and had the usual stiff climb out of the valley. We travelled for three days over a very hilly country to Mêng-p'êng[1], a little plain containing three or four Chinese and one La village. There was also a recently constructed fort [712] here with a small garrison of Chinese soldiers.

The country we had passed through between Mêng- 563• po-lo and Mêng-p'êng is chiefly inhabited by Chinese and Lo-los, but we met on the road one day some people whose women I recognised by their white pleated kilts as belonging to the Miao tribe whom I had previously seen in the Southern Shan States. They told us there were only a few villages of their race in this neighbourhood, and that they had emigrated from Kuei-chou province thirty or forty years ago.

This tribe I have come across in many places scattered about Western China and the Shan States, though nowhere in very large communities. I have seen them as far north as the Tibetan State of Mi-li and as far south as Keng Tung, one of the Southern Shan States. Westward I have not heard of them beyond the neighbourhood of Taw-nio. All these people, I believe, originally come from the southern part of Kuei-chou province, where they still inhabit a large tract of country, ruled by semi-independent chiefs of their own race. Miao or Miao-tzŭ is the name the Chinese have

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[1] Möng Hpawng in Shan.

563 given them, but they call themselves Mhong. I have always found them very pleasant and friendly.

From Mêng-p'êng it took us two days of fairly easy going through a country peopled chiefly by Shans and Las to reach Na-hsang, a Shan village just on the Chinese side [245] of the frontier. The village was full of orange trees, which were at this season covered with fruit—one of the prettiest crops conceivable.

000 The next day we crossed the boundary and reached Taw-nio, the British frontier fort, where I found Captain G. W. Johnson in command of the garrison of military police. Only those who have travelled alone in strange countries can fully understand what a pleasure it is to meet one of one's own race and talk English again. And indeed Captain Johnson himself had been leading as solitary a life as I had, for he was the only European in Taw-nio, and was dependent for his society on the rare visits paid by civilians or police officers from Lashio, the headquarters of the Northern Shan States, which lies 120 miles off to the west.

I fully expected to hear news here of Turner and Ker, but there was none forthcoming. It was of great importance that I should see them so as to arrange their future movements, so there was nothing for it but to wait till they came. I considered myself extremely fortunate in being able to make this enforced halt in a British fort and with such a pleasant host as Captain Johnson.

Taw-nio, or Ma-li-pa as the Chinese call it, is a frontier district which, though ruled by a Chinese chief, would have the strongest objection to being handed over to the Chinese empire. It forms part of the Shan State of Hsen-wi[1], and no doubt its inhabitants find that they have much more independence in their present position than they could hope for under Chinese officials, especially now that the mandarins have begun to interfere more and more in the affairs of the border States and to establish garrisons close to the British frontier.

The main part of Taw-nio consists of a grass plateau pleasantly dotted with patches of jungle. Villages are few

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[1] Called Theinni by the Burmese, and Mu-pang by the Chinese.

and his son at the time of our visit being only 12 years old, 631
his mother, according to Shan custom, ruled the country for him. The State comprises a great many Las, and many of the Chinamen are a decidedly rough lot, so that the old chieftainness finds her kingdom rather more than she can manage. It has an unenviable notoriety as a badly governed country where murders and rebellions are not uncommon, and it is compared very unfavourably with the neighbouring state of Kêng-ma.

The town, which contains some 300 houses, is built in 361
a small and poor plain at an elevation of 2,950 feet. It is 563 ●
chiefly inhabited by Shans with a few Chinese, and the plain contains altogether about a dozen Shan villages. [438]
There is very little trade in the place. An occasional mule caravan from Ta-li or Yün Chou comes here to sell tea, iron pans, and other miscellaneous products of China, taking away with them opium which is grown by the Chinese villages on the surrounding hills, and seems to be the only export.

The sawbwa's Chinese secretary came to see us in the evening and was very apologetic about the behaviour of the Mêng-hung people. He described them as ignorant Las who would not listen to reason. I have no doubt the Chên-k'ang government stand in considerable dread of their lawless subjects.

The next day we marched across some low spurs into 000
Mêng-ti (Möng Ti in Shan)[1], another small Shan plain. One of the numerous people who came to see us (or, to be more accurate, to stare at us) had lived several years in Rangoon and could talk Burmese quite well.

On this march we had a very high snow-capped range of hills on our right, dividing the Salween basin, which we were in, from the valley of the Nam Ting. This is the same range I had seen from Mêng-sa in 1895, and we were now able to determine its height as about 11,500 feet, an elevation which, though not uncommon in the north of Yün-nan, towers far above any of the other ranges at this latitude.

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[1] This place must not be confused with the larger place of the same name which is called Nan-tien by the Chinese and lies on the T'êng-yüeh-Bhamo road.

CHAPTER XX

TA-LI FU TO YÜN-NAN FU.

Chao Chou—The Ming-chia tribe—Hung-ai—The capital of an ancient kingdom—Yün-nan Hsien—"Two foreign officials, one black and one white"—Meeting with Watts-Jones—His line for a railway—A region of lakes and ponds—Wild geese and duck—A bare dry sandstone country—Meeting with Ryder—Chên-an Chou—A poor town—Ch'u-hsiung Fu—A conservative population—Six Englishmen meet—Ker goes northward to the Yangtze—Woman falls into a well—Belief in medical knowledge of Europeans—Kuang-t'ung Hsien—A broken-down city wall—One name for natives of Europe and India—The Ta-li *tao-t'ai's* jurisdiction—Lu-fêng Hsien—An-ning Chou—Yün-nan Fu—Wretched inn—Europeans in Yün-nan Fu—The city and lake—The Arsenal—Two-man rifles—The climate of Yün-nan Fu.

AFTER two days' halt at Ta-li, Ker and I started again 000
on the 1st of March and, passing through Hsia-kuan,
reached Chao Chou, a town of 600 houses near the S.E.
corner of the big lake. It is a poor-looking place compared
with Ta-li or Hsia-kuan, but it seems to be growing, as they
had lately enclosed some additional space within its walls.
The inhabitants, like those of the Ta-li plain, are chiefly of 563
the Ming-chia tribe, though there are many Chinamen
among them, especially in the town.

The next day a very gradual ascent brought us to the 249
top of a low range, from which we descended somewhat
steeply by a dangerously slippery paved road to a fine well-cultivated
plain in which splendid crops of opium are grown.
There is no official city here, and the principal place in the 000
plain is the large market village of Hung-ai. We had
now left the Min-chias behind and found ourselves again
among a purely Chinese population. Hung-ai, "red precipice,"
was formerly called Pai-ai, "white precipice," and is
celebrated in the ancient history of Yün-nan as the capital
of one of the old kingdoms destroyed by Pi-lo-ko in
749 A.D.

[p.149]

farming operations and are not employed as a means of 493
transport along the roads. This is no doubt owing to the impossibility in most places of taking them from one plain to another, though by a little construction of roads it would not be difficult to open a good deal of eastern Yün-nan to wheeled traffic. On the whole it is decidedly less hilly than the western part of the province, though in places, such for instance as the road from Wei-ning to Tung-ch'uan, there are as steep hills as I have seen anywhere.

My Chinese followers were much amused by the un- 195
couth dialect of the inhabitants of the provincial capital. One would expect to hear the purest Chinese spoken in the chief city of the province, but such is not the case. They have a peculiar way of speaking which I believe they, as natives of the capital, consider to be the standard of excellence for the province, but this opinion is not shared by other Chinamen either of Yün-nan or of other parts of the empire.

My own impression, derived from hearing many Lo-los speak Chinese, is that their speech is simply Chinese spoken with a strong Lo-lo accent. The Yün-nan Fu plain 563
was, I believe, formerly a Lo-lo country, and there are many families of Lo-lo origin still living there. Whatever may be the truth about this, it is needless to say that the present inhabitants of the city would only receive with derision any suggestion which imputed to them a Lo-lo ancestry or a Lo-lo accent. This dialect is confined to the people of K'un-ming Hsien, the Hsien district of Yün-nan Fu.

Our first march out from the capital took us to the 000
small plain of Ch'i-tien. We made the usual late start, which I have always found it difficult to avoid in leaving a town after a few days' halt. Consequently, as the march was 18 miles and entailed crossing a range of hills, we did not reach our halting-place till after dark. I was now doing my own surveying, as Lachman Jadu, the surveyor who had been with me so far, stayed with Captain Ryder, so as eventually to return to India with him to help in compiling the maps.

On the 4th April, after crossing a low range, we descended to a fine lake called Yang-tsung Hai, and leaving

000 The next day we crossed the Shweli-Salween watershed at 8,700 feet. The range is not so high here as it becomes north of the T'êng-yüeh-Ta-li road, where its peaks rise to 12,000 feet or more.

Sleeping at Pai-ta, which stands on a sort of little terrace in the hillside overlooking the Salween, we descended the next morning by an exceedingly steep path to what is often known as the P'an-chih-hua ferry. It should be more correctly called Chuan-shui, as the real P'an-chih-hua is a mile or two lower down and is now disused as a ferry.

The Salween here runs between hills which are not quite precipitous, but are so steep that one may say that the river banks are 3000 feet high. No goat track could possibly go straight up them. They are ascended by steep zigzag paths. The river is here at an elevation of 2,100 feet, and the highest peak on the range to the west of it, though only 6½ miles off in a straight line, is 10,100 feet. The ferry is not on any main road, so there was only one somewhat water-logged raft, and the crossing of 140 yards of deep swift-flowing water was a matter of time.

563 We slept at Ma-lu-t'ang, a village which with four
177 others in the neighbourhood is inhabited by Lo-los, who
still use their own language, but have in other respects
[304] adopted Chinese customs, even to the extent of their women
[249] binding their feet. The few people who exist in this part
of the Salween valley get a living principally by growing
tobacco and opium.

On the 5th we reached the large village of Yao-kuan, where I had slept a night in the previous year on my way from Yung-ch'ang down to Kun-long. I found the inhabitants just as inquisitive and ill-mannered as they had
712 been on my former visit. In one of the little plains passed
through on this march we found the ruins of a Mahommedan fort, built during the rebellion of 1854–1873. They say the rebels held out here for three or four years, and what remains of the fort is most solidly built of large blocks of stone.

000 Our next march was chiefly downhill, leading us into the valley of the Yung-ch'ang River, where it runs through the little plain which the Chinese call Wan-tien and the

000 Shans Möng Ya. As the elevation here is only 2,400 feet, the latter race have been allowed to retain undisturbed possession. They form part of the Shan state of Ta-mêng-t'ung or Möng Htong.

The next day we crossed the river. It is here 50 or 60 yards wide and was three feet deep, with a strong enough current to make the ford difficult. There is no boat or raft in the whole plain, so that if a traveller happens to arrive immediately after heavy rain, he has to wait till the water goes down again. In the rainy season it must usually be impassable. The Shans are not as good as the Chinese in their arrangements for crossing rivers.

Climbing a big jungle-covered range we took two days from here to reach Ta-mêng-t'ung, the capital of the state. 243 There are many cultivated clearings in the forest, and the chief thing grown is buckwheat, a beautiful crop at this time of year, making large red patches over the hillsides. 136 A notable event on the day we left Wan-tien was the putting up of a hare in the jungle. This is the only time I can remember having seen one in Yün-nan, though they are common in the Tibetan part of Ssŭ-ch'uan.

● 563 The plain of Ta-mêng-t'ung is not a large one, and as it is not much under 4000 feet high there are some Chinese 622 families settled here, though the majority of the inhabitants are Shan. The sawbwa, who was then only twelve years old, lives a little to the north of the main road, so we put up in the old town which lay on our route.

006 From here the main road to Yün Chou lies through Shun-ning, but I wanted to find a more direct route, so struck out E.S.E., and, after an uphill march, camped in the little Lo-lo village of Li-pa-sa at 6,200 feet.

The next day the road took an unexpected turn to the south and joined into the route by which Ker and I had come up from Chên-k'ang the year before. I had therefore to follow this road into Yün Chou, arriving there on the 11th December. I put up in a large temple, and we had a day's halt to rest mules and men. Some of the animals were in bad condition when we started, and two of them 435 were by this time unfit to carry loads. Luckily prices are not high in western China, and I had only to pay £4. 12*s*. and £3 for the two ponies I bought to take their places.

000 inhabitants of the valley are chiefly Shans. In the first
march we passed two of the salt wells. One of these called
317 Hsi-k'ung-ching I stopped to examine. The water is drawn
up in a large skin bucket from the well, which they say is
180 feet deep. It is then boiled in enormous cauldrons for
three or four days till a residuum of earth strongly
impregnated with salt is left. This is then pounded, mixed
with water and boiled afresh over and over again till
nothing but pure salt remains. The well is said to produce
500 lbs. of salt in the year. They do not work it in the
rains, as they say the water is not then salt enough. I
suppose the amount of rain water which falls into the well
and filters through the earth into it dilutes the original salt
water so much that it is not worth boiling.

273 Strong liquor is apparently sold cheap at Hsi-k'ung-ching, for soon after we had got to our halting place for the night I got a message to say that my Madrassi cook was lying on the road and could not be got on. So dead drunk was he that he could not move for hours and did not turn up till the middle of the night. He appeared the next morning with a bland face as if nothing particular had happened, and afterwards explained that a bad attack of fever had prevented him from arriving in camp as soon as he could have wished.

000 Indian servants are the greatest possible nuisance in China, as of course they are quite unable to talk to anyone or to buy anything. Their only use is that they attract a good deal of attention, and take part of the crowd of sightseers away from oneself. In Burma it is impossible to get a Chinese cook. Travellers entering western China from the Yangtze direction have the great advantage of coming with Chinese servants.

On the second day out of Wei-yüan we left the Chên-
yüan road and, fording the river, turned eastward. The
road was abominable, leading up the actual bed of a stream
covered with large stones, and crossing the stream more
•563 than 30 times in less than six miles. We slept at Têng-t'ung,
197 a village inhabited by the K'a-tu tribe, who are called
Wo-ni by the Chinese. Their language is closely allied to
the different Lo-lo dialects, and the headquarters of the
tribe is in the T'a-lang district.

CHAPTER XXVII

FROM P'U-ÊRH FU TO YÜN-NAN FU.

Leave P'u-êrh—Cross the Black River—A shaky iron chain bridge—T'ung-kuan—A slippery descent—The A-mei Chiang—T'a-lang-T'ing—Gold mine—The Wo-ni race—The K'a-tu, Pu-tu, and Pi-o tribes—Their dress—A Lo-lo village—The Red River—Mo-sha—Shan women's costume—Non-Buddhist Shans—Flat-roofed houses—A steep climb—Perpetual mist—Hsin-p'ing Hsien—Curiosity of the population—Streets lined and roofs crowded—Lo-lo origin—Opium and sugar-cane—Good oranges—A dry country—Iron mine—Yi-mên Hsien—Meet Ryder—A plateau country—An-ning Chou—Duck shooting—Across the Yün-nan Fu lake—Reach Yün-nan Fu—The French in the capital—Attack on them by the Chinese—The English missionaries—Observations for longitude.

000 On the 2nd January, 1900, we left P'u-êrh for the capital of the province. Our first day took us back along the road by which we had come to Mo-hei. Our second march was somewhat more varied, for crossing a range at 6000 feet we descended to our old friend the Black River or Pa-pien Chiang. It is crossed by a very shaky iron chain bridge, which sways about so much that only three mules can pass over at a time with safety. The stream is here from 50 to 80 yards wide. Its strong current and occasional rapids make navigation impossible.

361
563 On the third day we reached T'ung-kuan, a big village pleasantly situated on a plateau with small jungle-covered hills rising out of it. The population about here is very mixed, including Lo-los, K'a-tus, Ma-heis, and a few Shans. The Chinese are decidedly in a minority, and perhaps it is due to this happy circumstance that the natives of T'ung-kuan have better manners than one usually finds in China.

000 A thunderstorm the next morning made it unpleasantly slippery along the steep downhill road which brought us to the A-mei Chiang, another source of the Black River and

much the same size as the Pa-pien Chiang. The elevation 000
of this river here is only 2,600 feet, and it is spanned by another chain bridge in the same shaky condition as that we had crossed two days before.

Sleeping at Chang-lu-p'ing we had a climb of 2,600 feet the next morning, and then a descent to the little narrow plain in which T'a-lang T'ing is built. The town appears 361
to contain 500 houses or so, and has I think better 316
shops than P'u-êrh. Its principal importance is derived from its gold mine, which lies some miles off the town. I did not visit it, as it had been examined in the previous year by Turner and Ker.

The villagers in this plain belong chiefly to the Wo-ni 563 ●
race, who are divided into three tribes, the K'a-tu, Pu-tu, and Pi-o. These all speak Lo-lo dialects closely allied to [197]
each other, but they have not the straight features and fine physique which are characteristic of the genuine Lo-lo. M. Bons d'Anty, of the French Consular Service, who is an authority on Lo-los, considers these tribes to be the original owners of the soil and to have been conquered by the Lo-los, who have imposed their own language upon them. If this is so, it seems probable that they belonged originally to the Mon-Annam race, and are connected with the P'u-mans and the Las and Was.

We met many Pu-tu and Pi-o families returning from 291
the town. The dress of their women is picturesque. The 563
dark coat reaching nearly to the knees is open in front, with a separate piece of cloth fastened across the breasts. In the arrangement of this piece of cloth lies a distinction between two of the tribes, for in the case of the Pu-tu it is buttoned on to the coat, while among the Pi-o it is simply fastened round inside the coat. The skirt of both tribes consists of one piece of stuff put on round the waist and just tucked in to fasten it. The turban has a long piece of spare cloth which is thrown back from the front over the top of the head. Their ornaments are large silver earrings. The colour of their coats and waistcloths forms another distinguishing tribal mark, for those of the Pi-o women are often white, those of the Pu-tu always dark blue. The young unmarried girls of both tribes wear blue caps instead of turbans, and their hair is cut to a length

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S 291 563 of about a foot, hanging down over their necks just after the fashion of the Kachin girls of the Burmese frontier. The K'a-tu women are distinguished from the other two tribes by wearing trousers, and by little metal ornaments which hang down from the front of their turbans. These three tribes are known to the Chinese by the name of Wo-ni.

000 From T'a-lang the main road to the capital crosses the Red River at Yuän-chiang Chou and passes through Hsi-o and Hsin-hsing, but this route had been taken by Turner and Ker the previous year. To avoid known ground I took a road through Hsin-p'ing Hsien to Yi-mên-Hsien, passing through a piece of country quite blank on the maps.

S 563 Our route led us in a northerly direction over the usual mountainous country, and on the second day we crossed the watershed of the Black River and Red River at 7,500 feet. Our camp that night was at Ma-lu-t'ang, a village inhabited by genuine Lo-los, not Wo-nis. They say they migrated here from the Ch'u-hsiung-Fu district three generations ago. Besides Lo-los there are Wo-nis in this part of the country, and also two other tribes, K'u-tsung[1] and Lo-pi, of whom I have never heard in other districts. I believe them to be connected with the Wo-ni race.

S 132 We had been experiencing quite warm weather lately, and this hot climate seems to be a peculiarity of the Black River basin, for the morning at Ma-lu-t'ang, which lies on the Red River side of the watershed, was cold and frosty. In two more days we reached the Red River at Mo-sha. It is from 70 to 100 yards wide, flowing through bare reddish coloured hills, but just here passing through a plain four miles wide.

S P 291 This Mo-sha plain is at a level of only 1,650 feet, the lowest I have ever been in Yün-nan, except on the very borders of Burma or Tong-king. It is inhabited by Shans, who have however no sawbwa of their own. The women have a very peculiar dress, quite different to that of any Shans I have seen elsewhere. Their blue jackets have red cuffs, and they wear a red band of cloth round the waist. Both jacket and petticoat are much ornamented round the

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[1] Not to be confused with Ku-tsung, a name the Chinese of Yün-nan apply to Tibetans.

000 streets and crowded the house-tops to get a look at us. Work must have been entirely at a standstill for that afternoon. The crowd was however a very civil and friendly one. On arriving at the inn I found the enterprising landlord had arranged some reserved seats for his family and friends, so that they might watch whatever I did in my room. This was a little too much, and I was obliged to intimate that the performance was finished for the day.

The town of Hsin-p'ing is in two parts, one surrounded
361 by a stone wall, the other by a mud wall. The officials
563 live in the former, but all the shops are in the latter. The
people are chiefly Chinese, but there are a few Lo-los in
almost every village and even in the town. Doubtless it
was a Lo-lo country originally, and many of the Chinese
are of Lo-lo descent.

241 The plain is most of it on a slope and somewhat cut up by stony, uncultivated ground, but it appears to grow fairly good crops. Its height is over 5000 feet, and it is cool enough to grow opium and warm enough to grow sugar-cane, two crops that I have never elsewhere seen side by side. I bought here the best oranges that I have ever tasted in any country.

312 Our next three days' march lay through a poor country,
without much water in it that can be used for irrigation.
316 The streams are most of them little trickles over a bed
of solid rock, with occasional muddy pools. On the third
day we reached Ssŭ-ch'êng, a village at 6000 feet, which
has the remains of a mud wall round it. On this last
march we passed a small iron mine at a place called
Chia-tso. It is only worked on quite a small scale and
does not appear to be very productive. Most of the ore
is smelted near the mine, where they have enough to keep
one small furnace going.

361 From Ssŭ-ch'êng, crossing two more ranges, we arrived at Yi-mên-Hsien on the 17th January. It is a very small place, the town walls built round a little hill which stands out in the middle of the plain. But inside the walls are only about 50 houses, two large temples, and the mandarin's yamen. Nearly all the population live in a suburb to the south of the real town. The plain is five miles long and is well cultivated.

000 to halt the next day to allow my Chinese followers to enjoy the occasion. We were also able to celebrate our meeting by dining off pheasant, for I shot two on the first march out of the capital.

On the 2nd February we set out again, and for this march our routes lay along the same road. Passing the very small town of Lu-ch'üan Hsien, we crossed a range and descended into the little plain of Hsiao-ts'ang at 6050 feet.

The next morning a path down a narrow valley brought us again to the Yün-nan Fu lake river, which in this part of its course is known as the P'u-tu Ho. It is here 50 yards wide with a strong current and is at a level of 5000 feet. After crossing the ferry Ryder and I separated to meet two months afterwards at A-tun-tzŭ. His road climbed the hills to the east; mine, a very bad narrow track, led down the valley of the stream.

563 I was surprised to find that a few of the villages in this valley were inhabited by Shans, a race I certainly never expected to find so far north. They say they came here hundreds of years ago from Ava. This is rather vague, but possibly they came originally from some Shan state which was at that time tributary to Burma. No priest accompanied them in their migration, and they consequently have lost both their written language and their Buddhist religion. They still, however, speak Shan. It would be interesting to know how they got to this out of the way spot. They seem to have no idea themselves why they came or exactly where they came from[1].

000 The following day I was able to get some 18 miles further down the P'u-tu Ho by a villainous road, and slept at the village of Ch'ien-ch'ang[2]. Below this I could hear of no path descending the valley, and the view we got of 10 miles of precipitous crags bordering the river on both sides made it appear probable that this information was correct. Nothing could well be more unpromising for a railway than the whole of this lower part of the P'u-tu Ho.

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[1] Garnier mentions Shans at the junction of the Ya-lung River and the Yangtze. I believe there are a certain number of villages of this race scattered about this part of the Yangtze valley. It is possible that they are the remnants of a former Shan population.

[2] Not to be confused with the Chien-ch'ang valley.

000 It was unnecessary therefore to try to follow this stream any further, so I struck across N.W. for the Hung-mên-k'ou ferry over the Yangtze. A steep descent from Ch'ien-ch'ang brought us to the P'u-tu Ho at 3,900 feet, and we crossed it by an extremely leaky ferry-boat, which half filled with water in taking across the first load of baggage. However they caulked it with strips of bark and everything was safely got across. The mules swam, and though the river is only 50 or 60 yards wide, the current was strong enough to carry them down quite 100 yards before they could land on the far bank.

563 142 From the river we had a climb of nearly 4000 feet to the Lo-lo village of Ts'u-chü. These Lo-los are a much finer race than even the best of those that I had seen further south. They are very tall men, with straight noses and sharp features, and are evidently of the same race as the Independent Lo-los of Ssŭ-ch'uan. The difference of stature and feature between different Lo-lo tribes I attribute partly to climate and partly to the mixing of the more southern Lo-los with other races. Certainly the colder the climate in which one finds them living, the sharper are their features and the taller their stature. Ts'u-chü I found a very cold place, and the sun had not had power enough to melt the ice by three o'clock in the afternoon.

000 On the 6th February our road led up and down over spurs, the highest point reached being 8,500 feet; but I could only guess at the lie of the country as the clouds were right down on the hills, and in the morning fell for two or three hours in the form of snow. Finally we came down into a large undulating plateau, inhabited chiefly by Lo-los, with several large villages and a good deal of cultivation. We slept in a temple at San-ying-p'an, one of the principal villages.

Our next march lay across this plateau at an average level of about 8000 feet. The plateau is watered by the sources of the little river which we had crossed five days before in the Lu-ch'uăn Hsien plain. I had a little shooting on this march, getting a few snipe, and a plover which to my eye was undistinguishable from the common green plover of England.

On the 8th February we still kept on the plateau for

000 Chin-sha Chiang or Golden Sand River, but it does not seem to be known by this name to the people who live on its banks.

Following the Hui-li Chou road the next day for a few miles we reached the large village of T'ieh-chiang-ts'un. From here I turned off in a westerly direction to examine the country lying between Hui-li and the Yangtze with a view to seeing if there was any possible chance of a line for a railway. Our road took us among hills which command a magnificent view of the country all round, so that Lachman Jadu the surveyor was able to do a lot of work.

563 Ta-shih-p'êng where we slept is at an elevation of 8,800 feet. This village is inhabited by Lo-los who are an offshoot of the Independent Lo-los of the country further north, and came to their present village from the neighbourhood of Lei-po T'ing. The emigration took place a long time ago, and their dialect has somewhat changed, though they say that they and their northern fellow-tribesmen can still understand each other fairly well.

The son of the head-man was at the time of our visit away with a good many of the young men of the place, helping the Chinese in an expedition against some of the Independent Lo-los. They do not seem to have any objection to fighting against their kinsmen, but they say the latter are not really more turbulent than anyone else, but that they are led on to commit robberies and to disturb the country by outlawed Chinamen who have taken refuge among them.

291 Both men and women at Ta-shih-p'êng were wearing the Lo-lo cloak described by Baber. It is made of grey felt, which they weave themselves out of wool. It is fastened round the neck, has no sleeves, and hangs down to the knees. It must form an excellent protection against cold, rain, or snow.

000 For two more days I marched westward, examining carefully this very intricate country, and then turned north and crossed the stream which flows down from Hui-li Chou. Where I crossed it in the Hui-li plateau it runs in a curious chasm 1000 feet deep, with very steep sides of soft shale, and with no level ground at the bottom except the bed of

788 bees' nests bred of experience in Indian jungles, I was
looking round to see where it came from. The noise got
nearer and nearer, when six men suddenly appeared round
the corner of a zigzag. It was not till I actually saw them
that it dawned on me that the noise I had taken for the
humming of bees proceeded really from human throats
reciting prayers in a monotonous mumble. The deception
was most perfect. Neither myself nor the Chinamen with
me doubted when we first heard the noise that it was a
788 swarm of bees or hornets. The men belonged to the Mo-so
tribe and were on a pilgrimage to a temple in the Chien-
• 563 ch'ang valley. This is a race of men I have seen very
little of. They appear roughly speaking to inhabit the
country north of Li-chiang Fu, and from there westwards
towards Wei-hsi and northwards nearly to A-tun-tzû.
Most, if not all, of them have adopted Tibetan Buddhism.
Captain Ryder came across them in the town of Yung-
ning (lat. 27° 45', long. 100° 40'), where they constitute the
bulk of the population. By the evidence of their language
they are closely connected with the Hsi-fan and Lo-lo
races.

The men we met would stop their chaunt for a moment to answer a question, but would begin again at once afterwards. We were evidently getting near a country under Tibetan influence. What Chinaman would think of reciting prayers as he went along the road?

563 The Mo-sos were not the only new race I was to see
[263] on this march, for soon afterwards we met some Hsi-fans,
carrying loads of a sort of spice called *hua-chiao*, which
they grow extensively about here. Just after they had
201 passed us, the last of them, an elderly man, gave vent to
his feelings in a loud noise in a high tone of voice, more
like a shriek of forced laughter than anything else. I thought
at first he was amused at something, possibly at my personal
appearance. The Chinese guide said it was their way of
singing—a somewhat vague explanation. It was a noise
I often heard afterwards among Tibetans, and is simply
a means of calling to each other when distance makes a loud
yell necessary to attract attention. It sounds a most extra-
ordinary noise at first, but one soon gets accustomed to
000 it in Tibet. One of my Gurkha sepoys told me the people

in the Naga hills on the Assam border indulge in the same 000
sort of call.

Hsi-fan in Chinese simply means "Western Barbarian," 101
and is certainly a vague designation, but at the same time 563●
it is a useful general name for a family of tribes who form
a sort of connecting link between the Tibetans and the
Lo-los. In manners and customs they are most of them
Tibetan, though not all the Hsi-fans have adopted the
religion of the lamas. The language of some of the tribes
is almost a dialect of Tibetan, but among others the speech
is more closely connected with Lo-lo.

The next day we struck the Ya-lung River, after five 000
miles of marching, and turned down its left bank by a very
rough hillside path. One of my mules in a bad piece of
steep narrow ascent lost his balance, fell over the hillside,
and coming with all his weight on a sharp rock was killed
on the spot.

The river here is about 100 yards wide, and as its 103
height is not much more than 5000 feet and it is shut in
by very steep hills, we found the valley rather warm. As
usual, in China, there is much confusion about the name of
this river. Locally it is called the Chin Chiang and in fact
is considered the main branch of the Yangtze, the latter
being known as the Pai-shui Chiang above the confluence
of the two rivers. I have never heard any Chinaman call
it the Ya-lung Chiang, but it is so named on the Chinese
map of Ssŭ-ch'uan and also on the small district map I saw at
Mien-ning. Mr Rockhill says this is a corruption of Nya-
lung, the Tibetan name. For geographical purposes it will
be better to stick to the name of Ya-lung River by which
it has become generally known to Europeans. The Chinese 316
name Chin Chiang or Gold River is not inappropriate, for
I saw men washing for gold in the river bed, and they
said they got a fair quantity.

Crossing by ferry we had a very steep climb up to 000
Lu-ning-ying, a village of 150 houses, on a well cultivated,
steeply sloping terrace.

We did not get in till dark, so I had a day's halt here
to rest the mules and to get information about our future
route. Mi-li was the place to which I wanted to find a road,
but no one in Lu-ning-ying had ever heard of Mi-li. At

000 or 5000 feet. To turn the flank of this obstacle it was necessary to make a circuit to the south. Even this entailed a fairly trying climb, and we had ascended to over 12,000 feet before we reached the top.

The way down on the other side was no better. It began with stone steps and steep zigzags, and then got into a rough rocky ravine with water running down it, which sometimes flowed above ground and sometimes beneath it. On each side rose precipitous hills to thousands of feet above us—a very fine country to look at, but a little difficult for loaded mules, who slipped about a good deal on the ice which covered the road in shady places.

Finally we turned out of the ravine and reached a tumble-down inn just short of the Hsi-fan village of Chieh-hsing. There sure enough below us to the west was the Ya-lung River again, flowing from south to north, so I could no longer doubt the geographical information of the Lu-ning-ying people.

The direct route to the west was again blocked by a formidable mountain chain, which rises to a height of 10,000 feet on the other side of the Ya-lung. Our road consequently led up the valley of that river, but keeping some thousands of feet above its level. For two days we continued in this direction, crossing big spurs, with scarcely a level inch of road, through a country very sparsely populated by Hsi-fans and Chinese. On the second day we crossed the river by ferry and reached the village of No-po.

563 Here we were in Mi-li territory, for the No-po chief is only a small man under the Mi-li king. We were also among a different tribe, for though both are called Hsi-fan by the Chinese, the people of Lu-ning-ying district are Mu-nia, while the No-po villagers call themselves Lo-p'u. The former name is doubtless the same as the Menia of Baber, and the Manyak of Hodgson. The next day I came across two fresh Hsi-fan tribes, who are called Êrh-su and Balamin.

I had not time to get vocabularies from all these. Perhaps some of these names are only small tribal divisions but there seemed no doubt that the Mu-nia and Lo-p'u spoke different languages. Neither of these tribes

Neither of these tribes

791 have adopted Tibetan Buddhism. Their religion includes
• 563 the sacrifice of animals, I was assured by the people of No-po. The Hsi-fans I found everywhere most friendly. It is not till one gets into a country that is more under the thumb of the lamas, that obstruction begins.

563 Leaving No-po on the 11th March, we were obliged to make rather a short day as, after crossing one big spur, we still had the main range, with 6000 feet more of climbing, in front of us, and I did not think our mules would be equal to this. We slept at Mo-tzŭ-kou among the Miao-tzŭ or Mhong, a tribe which I have found scattered in small and widely dispersed communities all over western China. I had met some on the road the day before who had tried to emigrate southward, but had been driven away by the Lo-los, who considered the land in that part of the country to belong to them. In Kuei-chou province the Miao-tzŭ are very numerous and powerful, but here they are evidently too few to be able to afford to quarrel with their neighbours.

342 We were now getting into a more Tibetan country, and on this march saw for the first time pagodas and praying wheels. The former, some twelve feet or so high, were made of more or less conical-shaped heaps of stones with Tibetan inscriptions on them, and usually a wooden pole sticking out a little way at the top. It was a sort of rough version of the Burmese pagoda with its *hti*.

778 The praying wheel consisted of a cylinder about three feet long and one and a half feet across, made of leather, and said to contain religious writings. The cylinder was fixed on to the top of a little water wheel which, worked by a small stream, revolved continually. The whole was protected by a stone shed well roofed in. It was a work of merit, which must have cost a good deal of time and money to erect in this out of the way spot. These water praying wheels were fairly common in the Tibetan country we travelled through, and when we got into a thoroughly lama district the ordinary praying wheels turned by hand were to be seen in every house.

000 The next morning we crossed the big range, reaching the top at 13,200 feet, but to the north of the road the range attains a much greater elevation than this. The

000 course of the Ya-lung can be traced from the top of this pass. Just where it makes its great bend to the north, its further progress southward is barred by an enormous mountain mass rising almost sheer from the river to a height 631 of thousands of feet. The country in that direction is under the Hsi-fan chief of Kua-pieh[1], who is nominally subordinate to the Yĕn-yüan Hsien mandarin.

000 A steep descent to a little valley and another 1000 feet of uphill brought us to the Lo-lo village of Ma-huang-kou at 10,300 feet. The villagers were at first somewhat taken aback by the appearance of such curious-looking people, and were not much inclined to sell us anything. However the appearance of the chief's wife, a large proportioned lady of some 40 years, altered all this. She immediately turned out all the villagers, ordered them to sweep a place clean for my tent, and to bring us anything they had to sell. Her subjects soon became as friendly as they had previously been suspicious.

This country is so very poor that it is by no means easy to get enough to eat even for such a small party as we were. Corn of any sort was scarce and the mules came 244 off badly. I was more fortunate, as I found the people here grew potatoes—a luxury indeed to the traveller in China. It is usually only among hill tribes that one is occasionally able to get this vegetable. The Chinese do not seem to appreciate it, though it grows well in the few places where it is cultivated. I remember getting excellent potatoes in Tung-ch'uan Fu and T'ung-hai Hsien. They were, I believe, originally introduced into China by French missionaries, and in Yün-nan they are called *yang yü*, the foreign yam.

563 To illustrate the varied population of this country I may mention that for five days we had now slept among a different tribe each night—Mu-nia Hsi-fan, Chinese, Lo-p'u Hsi-fan, Miao-tzŭ, and Lo-lo. Each of these people's language is unintelligible to all the others. The *lingua franca* of the country here is still Chinese, though further west Tibetan was much more generally known.

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[1] This place is described by Dr R. Logan Jack in *The Back Blocks of China*.

Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

Mi-li to Chung-tien

S ST 233 But Chung-tien is essentially a grazing country. Everywhere one sees large herds and flocks of live stock—yaks, S cattle, ponies, mules, sheep, and pigs. The breed of ponies ST is considered a good one, and mules and ponies are taken [439] nearly every year to Bhamo for sale. Rice and sugar are the chief imports, brought in by Chinese traders from Ho-ch'ing Chou. No doubt the district would be very prosperous if it were not ground down by the lamas.

S ST ● 563 101 The natives of Chung-tien are of a different race from those of Mi-li. The latter belong to the semi-Tibetan family which it is convenient to call Hsi-fan. I was told that there were two different tribes in the Mi-li state, called K'a-mi and P'rü-mi respectively. The inhabitants of Chung-tien are of the genuine Tibetan race, who call themselves Pê or Pö. This in the written language is "b'ot" and is probably the last syllable of our word Tibet, the first syllable being the Tibetan word "teu" meaning "high" or "upper[1]."

S ST 195 A vocabulary that I took down at Chung-tien shows that the language of that district only differs in dialect from the Tibetan of Lhasa. The speech of Mi-li, on the contrary, though it contains some Tibetan words, is more nearly akin to the Lo-lo and to other Hsi-fan dialects.

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[1] This is Desgodins' derivation, and Rockhill also agrees. Terrien de Lacouperie, however, derives "Tibet" from *Deba*, which means a ruler or king.

000 After doing nine miles I found it hopeless to try and get the mules any further, and left some of the men with tents and bedding to camp with the mules for the night. Ryder's animals had been hired from Yün-nan Fu and so were comparatively fresh, and he was able to get on to the proper camping ground.

I went on and slept in his tent and returned in the morning to look after the animals. One mule had died in the night. It had been weak for some time and had not been carrying anything, but on the previous day I had been obliged to give it a load of straw for the animals to eat. The men, too, though they had their tent and bedding, had suffered a good deal from cold. It was their own fault: they had neglected to get in firewood the evening before, though there was plenty of it not far off. We reached A-tun-tzŭ a little before dark and managed to stow ourselves and animals away in two small inns.

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•563 A-tun-tzŭ is not a very large place. There is a fair sized monastery, but besides this it hardly contains a hundred houses. It stands near the head of a narrow steeply-sloping valley surrounded by steep snow-covered hills. Its elevation above the sea we made 11,500 feet. The inhabitants of the town are many of them half Chinese, but the customs and language of the place are more Tibetan, though many of the people can talk Chinese as well[1].

000 Directly we arrived at A-tun-tzŭ a man came up with a letter which he had just brought in from Manifold, saying he expected to arrive in two or three days. He turned up on the 6th April, so we all met within six days of our appointed time. Manifold would have been here earlier but was delayed by circumstances.

Unluckily, as he was on the road from Bhamo to T'êng-yüeh, a collision took place in the Kachin Hills between the military police and some Chinese soldiers who had trespassed on our side of the border. The news of this had reached T'êng-yüeh, and Manifold when he arrived there found himself surrounded by an angry mob. One of his men was assaulted, several of his things stolen, and it required all the influence of the officials of the place to

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[1] A-tun-tzŭ is said to have been almost entirely destroyed by a landslip since our visit.

My very rough methods of calculation naturally give only an approximate result, but in default of any better estimate the population of Yün-nan may be taken as about ten millions[1]. 161

This population is divided between very sparsely peopled mountains, which form the greater part of Yün-nan, and very thickly inhabited plains which, though they only comprise about a fifteenth of the area of the province, contains nearly half of its inhabitants. 162 563●

In the plains the population is mainly Chinese[2], but not entirely so, for in the cold plateaus of the north-west are found Tibetans, while many of the low-lying plains of the south are inhabited by Shans. Moreover in the centre of the province some of the plains are peopled by Ming-chias, while an admixture of Lo-los is occasionally found. At a guess I should say that about four-fifths to nine-tenths of the population of the plains are Chinese, including under this name those who, even if of aboriginal extraction, are now in language and customs undistinguishable from the ruling race.

In the hills things are different. Here, as in the plains, one also finds the Chinese, and there is no large tract of country without Chinese villages in it. But living among them and forming the bulk of the hill population are numerous other tribes, each with its own language and its own customs[3].

In the north-west corner are Tibetans, and the semi-Tibetan Mo-so race. On the Burmese border are Kachins and Palaungs; also in the west of the province, but extending further into the interior, are the Li-sos; everywhere throughout Yün-nan are the Lo-los, a fine race and more numerous than any other hill tribe. Equally widely distributed are the Miaos, but they are only found in small and scattered communities. In the south-west, between the Salween and the Mekong, are the La-hus, who with their cross-bows and poisoned arrows proved formidable

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[1] Some recent Chinese figures give Yün-nan a population of about 12,000,000, but these are said to be unreliable. The late Mr Litton, of the Consular Service, who had much experience of Yün-nan, estimated the number of inhabitants at 9,000,000.

[2] Among the Chinese I include the Panthays or Chinese Mahommedans.

[3] For details about these tribes see Appendix VIII.

162 foes to the Chinese troops a few years ago. Near them
563 live the Was, many of whom are still unconquered and
still carry on their head-hunting raids. Their relatives, the somewhat more civilised Las, occupy much of the country near the southern part of the Burma-Yün-nan frontier. In the south of Yün-nan are the P'u-mans; and further east are the Wo-nis and many other tribes speaking Lo-lo dialects. The Shans and Ming-chias I omit, as they are not properly speaking hill tribes but live in the plains and valleys.

To form an estimate of the relative numbers of the Chinese and non-Chinese population in the hills is a difficult task. With the possible exception of the Lo-los the Chinese would doubtless outnumber any *one* other tribe, but still there are many tracts of country where they are decidedly in the minority. To say that the Chinese form one-third of the inhabitants of the hills, and other tribes the remaining two-thirds would perhaps not be very wide of the mark. This is merely a rough estimate, the result of impressions gained from travelling over the country, and must be taken only for what it is worth.

M 131 /16 cont./

We may divide the present distribution of the Miao tribe into seven areas, namely, Kweichow, Hunan, Kwangsi, Szechwan, Yunnan, Indochina /Yüeh/, and Burma, as follows:

M *101 C 563 Kweichow. — There are 82 subgroups of the Miao in Kweichow, according to Ch'ien Miao T'u Shuo. (2) But among

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2. Ch'ien Miao T'u Shuo /Pictures of the Miao in Kweichow with Explanatory Text/ compiled by Chen Hao, a sub-prefect in charge of Miao affairs at Pa Fan, according to Ch'ing Chi /Kweichow Record/ by Li Tsung-fang of the Ch'ing period. The woodcut edition is rare, but there are many hand-copied, hand-drawn editions under various names. There are 82 subgroups according to what is recorded by the Japanese, Torii Ryūzō, in his Miao Tsu Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao (see Chapter II); and given in the Englishman E.C. Bridgman's Translation of Sketches of the Miao-tsze, Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, No. III, pp. 1-26; and George W. Clarke's Translation of a Manuscript Account of the Kwei-chow Miao-tzu, Appendix of Archibald R. Colquhoun's Across Chryse, Vol. II, pp. 363-94. There are two sets in the archives of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, one

2:Ling & Ruey--30   E-5   (1933) 1947   AE5 Miao AE5

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containing only 80 pictures, and the other with pictures, but no text, of 82 subgroups. The following are the 82 names according to these two sets and the records of Torii Ryūzō: He Lolo, Nü Kuan, Pe Lolo, Sung Chia, Ts'ai Chia, Ch'ia /K'a/ Yu Chung Chia, Pu Lung Chung Chia, Tseng Ch'u Lung Chia, Kou Erh Lung Chia, Ma Teng Lung Ta T'ou Lung Chia, Hua Miao, Hung Miao, Pe Miao, Ch'ing Miao, He Miao, Tung Miao, Hsi Miao, Yao Miao, Nung Miao, Ta Ya Ch'i Lao, Chien T'ou Ch'i Lao, Chu Shih Ch'i Lao, Hung Ch'i Lao, Hua Ch'i Lao, Shui Ch'i Lao, Kuo Ch'üan Ch'i Lao, P'ei P'ao Ch'i Lao, Mu Lao, Ch'i Chuang, P'o /?/ Jen, T'u Jen, Man Jen, Shan T'ung Jen, Yao Jen, Yang Pao, Yang Kuang, Chiu Ku Miao, Pa Fan Miao, Tzu Chiang Miao, Yang Tung Lo, Han Miao, K'e Meng Ku Yang Miao, Tung Miao, Ch'ien Miao, Ling Chia Miao, Tung Chia Miao, Shui Chia Miao, Liu E Tzu, Pe E Tzu, Jan Chia Man, Chiu Ming Chiu Hsing Miao, Yeh T'ou Miao, Tung Tsai Miao, Pa Chai Miao, Ch'ing Chiang Miao, Lou Chü Miao, He Shui Miao, He Sheng Miao, Kao P'o

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Miao, P'ing Fa Miao, He Chung Miao, Ch'ing Chiang Chung Chia, He Min Tzu, Pe Tou Tzu, Pe Lung Chia, Pe Chung Chia, T'u Ch'i Lao, Ya Ch'üeh Miao, Hu Lu Miao, Hung Chou Miao, Hsi Ch'i Miao, Ch'e Chai Miao, Sheng Miao, He Chüeh Miao, He Lou Miao, Tuan Ch'ün Miao, Chien Ting Miao, Lang Tz'u Miao, Lo Han Miao, Liu Tung I Jen, Ch'ing Chung Chia, and Ku Lin Miao.

them, /17/ many of different names belong to the same group. Furthermore, as the non-Chinese tribes in Kweichow in general are called Miao, there is also a difference between the broad and the narrow senses of the term. In the narrow sense the term Miao refers to the real Miao tribe. There has been very little scientific study made of the tribes in Kweichow, and there are insufficient data to make an accurate classification of them. According to S.R. Clarke, they may be classified into four main tribes according to their languages, namely, the Ch'i Lao, the Miao, the Lolo, and the Chung Chia. (1) The Ch'i Lao has been hitherto regarded as a subgroup of the pure Miao, but according to Terrien de Lacouperie's view, the Ch'i Lao are the remnants of the Ka Lun (Karen) in Burma, because of the similarity in language and in grammar between them. (2)

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1. S.R. Clarke: Among the Tribes in South-west China, pp. 1-15.

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2. Terrien de Lacouperie, The Cradle of the Shan Race, p. 48.

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M *101 197 C 563 However, using language as a basis, Lowis maintains that the Karen are the predecessors of the Shan tribe (Pre-Shan). (3)

3. C.C. Lowis, The Tribes of Burma, p. 16.

The writers have used the 76 words of the Ch'i Lao language as recorded by S.R. Clarke to make a comparison with the languages of the Miao, the Lolo, and the Chung Chia, and have found a 40 per cent similarity between the Ch'i Lao and the Chung Chia languages.. However, the two tribes have lived together for a long time, mutually assimilating each other, so that we cannot assume on the basis of the partial similarity in languages that they are of the same origin. We know that al- M *101 C 563 though the list of names of the peoples of southwest China is long, they may be divided into four groups: the Miao-Yao, the Tibeto-Burman, the Thai-Shan, and the Mon-Khmer. The tribes in Kweichow cannot fall outside these four groups. The Miao belong to the Miao-Yao group, the Chung Chia to the Thai-Shan group, the Lolo to the Tibeto-Burman group. Whether the Ch'i Lao belong to the Miao-Yao or to the Thai-Shan group remains an unsettled question for lack of sufficient data. The Ch'i Lao were the earliest tribe to reside in Kweichow and might be called the natives. They covered a rather extensive area. The Kweichow T'ung Chih says: "There are many kinds of Ch'i Lao, found everywhere." But they have repeatedly been assimilated by other tribes in later times, and their population now is very small. The migration of the Miao tribes M [167] into Kweichow probably began before the Ch'in and Han periods. They came out of Szechwan and first arrived in the northeast of Kweichow, gradually moving southeastward. The Miao in Kweichow sometimes also call themselves the aborigines, but when the Ch'i Lao and the Miao are found together in the same locality, the latter are considered to be "guests" and the former the "hosts." The Lolo migrated to northwestern Kweichow

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from Yunnan during the Han period, and today they are distributed in an area west of Wu-chiang River in the Shui-hsi region. The Chung Chia migrated from western Kwangtung during the Five Dynasties period and are scattered in the central and southern sections of Kweichow. Among these four groups the Miao and the Chung Chia are the most numerous, next the Lolo, /18/ and the Ch'i Lao are smallest in number and are gradually nearing extinction.

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The pure Miao tribe in Kweichow is further divided into five subgroups, the Hung Miao, the He Miao, the Pe Miao, the Ch'ing Miao, and the Hua Miao. The geographical distribution of the Hung Miao is along the eastern part of Kweichow bordering Hunan and the vicinity of T'ung-jen is the center. The He Miao are spread over a wide area in southeastern Kweichow, including such hsien as Tu-yün, Pa-chai, Tan-chiang, Yung-chiang, Yung-ts'ung, Li-p'ing, Chien-ho, T'ai-kung, Chen-yüan, Shih-ping, Huang-p'ing, Lu-shan, etc. It lies in the region south of the Hunan-Kweichow highway and east of the Kwangsi-Kweichow highway. The Pe Miao are found in the central part of Kweichow, starting in the east at Kwei-ting and Lung-li, passing through Kwei-chu, Hsiu-wen, and Ch'ien-hsi, and reaching Chih-chin and Lang-tai in the west. The Ch'ing Miao are also found in central Kweichow, principally in the vicinity of Kuei-yang, but also at Hsiu-wen, Ch'ing-chen, Ch'ien-hsi, and Chen-ning. The distribution of Hua Miao is the most extensive, starting from the vicinity of Kuei-yang, scattering over the northern and northwestern parts of Kweichow province in K'ai-yang, Jen-huai, Chih-chin, Lang-tai, Shui-ch'eng, and An-shun hsiens.

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Owing to repeated military attacks during the Yüan and Ming periods, many of the Miao tribes in Kweichow moved outward. The Hung Miao who lived in the vicinity of Tung-jen in eastern Kweichow moved eastward to the three sub-prefectures /t'ing/ of western Hunan. During the four rebellions in the Ch'ing dynasty, in 1698, 1732, 1794, and 1855, when armies were used to put them down, the Miao fled in all

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M /18 cont./
directions, which led to the mass migration of Miao tribes in
167 modern times. The He Miao gradually migrated to Hunan and
[648] Kwangsi. The Pe Miao moved from the northwest to Szechwan
C and Yunnan. The Hua Miao moved through An-shun in the
● 563 west to the eastern part of Yunnan and north to Wu-ting and
167 along the banks of the Chin-sha-chiang River, and again
through the southeastern part of Yunnan to the north of Tonkin
in Indochina. The Ch'ing Miao dispersed in all directions in
the three provinces of Hunan, Kwangsi, and Yunnan. The
M foregoing relates to the major migratory trends of the Miao,
*101 but actually in the interior of Hunan, Kwangsi, Szechwan,
C and Yunnan several Miao subgroups are often found in one
563 area. The writers found three subgroups at Meng-tzu, Yunnan,
the Pe Miao, the Hua Miao, and the Ch'ing Miao, but the
last two were not easily distinguishable from their dress.
Furthermore, several groups inhabiting the same area are likely to intermarry so that after a considerable length of time
has passed, it is difficult to distinguish between them.

M Hunan. — The earliest Miao immigrants to the three
*101 sub-prefectures of Feng-huang, Kan-ch'eng, and Yung-sui in
western Hunan were the Hung Miao. The He Miao, smaller
[131] in number, came later. According to the "Study of Miao
[167] Customs" in the Miao Fang Pei Lan: "Those living within the
CC three sub-prefectures are commonly called the Hung Miao,
563 but there are slight differences among them. For instance, in
Yung-sui sub-prefecture they are all Liy Li Hung Miao. But
at Huang-kua-chai /village/ to the southwest of the subprefecture and Ya-yu and Li-ling-chai to the /19/ south of the
sub-prefecture, the aborigines are known as He Miao. To the
north of the sub-prefecture Chi-tung-p'ing, Ch'a-tung, and
La-erh-pao, bordering Pao-ching and Hsiu-shan, are inhabited
by the He Miao together with some T'u Man. The Hung Miao,
M having many villages and people, are held in awe by the
[162] others; the He Miao being fierce and occupying lands difficult
of access can contend with them. The Hung Miao are more
numerous, but the He Miao are more violent, and consequently

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In western Hunan, besides the Miao of the three sub-prefectures there are Ch'ing Miao in Ching-hsien, T'ung-tao, Sui-ning, and Ch'eng-pu hsiens. There are Yao in Hsü-p'u, Ch'ien-yang, Wu-kang, Tao-hsien, and Yung-ming hsiens. There are T'u Jen in Yung-shun, Pao-ching, Ku-chang, and Lung-shan hsiens, /23/ and Ch'i Lao in Lu-ch'i and Kan-ch'eng hsiens. In recent times the non-Chinese people in west Hunan have been regarded as Miao, but actually only the Hung Miao in the three sub-prefecture and the Ch'ing Miao in Ching-hsien and T'ung-tao hsiens are pure Miao. Others like the Yao in such hsiens as Hsü-p'u and Ch'ien-yang are different from the Miao; the Ch'i Lao at Lu-ch'i and Kan-ch'eng are the same people as the Ch'i Lao of Kweichow. The language of the Tu Jen of such hsiens as Yung-shun and Pao-ching belongs to the Thai-Shan language group with Tibeto-Burman influence. They may be remnants of the Liao people of ancient times. (1) All of them are not Miao.

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1. Terrien de Lacouperie: The Languages of China before the Chinese, p. 149.

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Kwangsi. — The Miao in Kwangsi are generally distributed over the areas bordering Hunan, Kweichow, and Yunnan provinces, in the following 16 hsiens: Ling-yün, Pe-se, Tung-lan, Szu-lung, Nan-tan, Ho-ch'ih, Tu-an, Szu-en, I-pe, Lo-ch'eng, Yung-hsien, San-chiang, Lung-sheng, Hsi-lung, Hsi-lin, and Chen-pien. The Miao in Kwangsi for the most part are recent immigrants, and those on the Kwangsi and Yunnan border are still more recent. They are called by many names but broadly belong to the Pe Miao, Hua Miao, and He Miao.

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Szechwan. — The Miao are also found along the Szechwan-Kweichow border. There are many Hung Miao in the south-eastern corner of Szechwan and also in an area between Szechwan, Hunan, and Kweichow, including such hsiens as Yu-yang and

2:Ling & Ruey--43 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
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/23 cont./

M *101 SWC 563 Hsiu-shan. There are Pe Miao and Hua Miao in Kao-hsien, Kung-hsien, Hsing-wen, Ch'ang-ning, and Yün-lien in southern Szechwan. The number of Pe Miao is larger than that of the Hua Miao, and therefore this area is known as the Pe Miao area. Traces of the Miao are also found along the two banks of the Ya-lung-chiang River in the vicinity of Mien-ning-hsien.

Yunnan. — The area of distribution of the Miao in Yunnan is very extensive, because Yunnan is a larger province than Kweichow and its soil is more fertile. M [167] Although up to the present the number of Miao in Yunnan is not very large, their immigration into the province is continuing. Many Pe Miao and Hua Miao are found in northeastern Yunnan in such hsiens as Wei-hsin, Chen-yung, Sui-chiang, Yen-chin, Ta-kuan, I-liang, and Yung-shan. They are similar to the Miao in southern Szechwan in language and customs, although located in a different province. M [167] The Hua Miao entered Yunnan from western Kweichow, and their distribution is widespread, from Ch'ü-ching in the east through Sung-ming, Fu-min, Wu-ting, and Yen-hsing to Yang-pi, Yung-p'ing, Meng-hua, etc. hsiens; then across the Lan-tsang River from Meng-hua to Shun-ning, and westward to the east bank of the Nu-chiang River. Today, the British area of Ma-li-pa at Kuo-kan-hsien also have Miao villages. The Pe Miao and Hua Miao are scattered in such hsiens as Lo-p'ing, Shih-tsung, Ch'iu-pe, A-mi, Hsi-ch'ou, Ma-kuan, /24/ Wen-shan, Meng-tzu, P'ing-pien, Chin-ho, etc. in the southeastern part of Yunnan.

M *101 I 563 Indo-China. — Having migrated from Kweichow to Yunnan the Miao continued to move southward to the northern part of Tonkin, Indochina, to such regions as Kao-p'ing, Hai-chiang, and Lao-chieh in the area adjacent to Yunnan, reaching the border of T'ai-yüan province in the south, which is M [167] where they end. Further south is the plain of Tonkin, without hilly country to which to move and with a climate which does not suit the Miao people. The Miao in Tonkin are principally Pe Miao, but Ch'ing Miao and Hua Miao are also to be found. (1)

1. E. Lunet de Lajonquière: Ethnographie du Tonkin Septentrional, pp. 296-299.

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China AF17
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enfeoffing him King of Yun-nan with the rank of T'e-chin, the title Duke of Yueh State and Prefect-creating General. Moreover, the Emperor bestowed a new name, Kuei-yi (Convert to Righteousness) upon P'i-lo-ko. The son of P'i-lo-ko was enfeoffed General of the Right Command, General of the Left Body-guard, Expectant of the T'e-chin Rank, General of Cavalry and, to top it all, the Emperor gave him the title: Pillar of State. Emperor Hsuan Tsung after A.D. 742 received P'i-lo-ko's grandson Feng-chia-yi in audience, conferred on him the title Hung-lu-ch'ing (rank given travelers of high status), and gave him an

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Photo 9. Ta-li, Yun-nan Province (25°42' N, 100°9' E.

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Erh Hai (Ear Lake), 7000 feet in elevation, and the plain of Ta-li in western Yun-nan is viewed here from above the 14,000 feet high Ch'ien-ts'ang Shan west of the lake. Ta-li City, visible as the rectangular walled patch in the center of the lake plain, is the western rival of K'un-ming, capital of Yun-nan Province. The plain is about 30 miles long and 3-4 miles wide. Narrow passages at the north and south ends are strategically bounded by the towering Ch'ien-ts'ang and the lake edge, the southern entrance being through a canyon and across the bridge over the lake outlet. Early T'ai chieftains built their kingdom of Nan-chao upon this base and expanded the state to encompass most of the Yun-nan and Kuei-chou plateau lands. The state withstood Han-Chinese conquest for nine centuries, but was brought to its end by the Mongol armies of Kublai Khan.

The population of the Ta-li Plain for the most part are the Min-chia tribes who have successfully maintained their hold against displacement by the Han-Chinese. Highly Sinicized themselves, the Min-chia are being rapidly absorbed into the mainstream of the Han-Chinese culture. A small number among them have been converted to Mohammedanism, but most of them are Buddhists.

The Burma Road passes the southern approach to Erh Hai where the fortress town of Hsia-kuan guards the plain. From the northern end a motor road runs to Li-chiang between the great loop of the Chin-sha Chiang. The Ta-li Plain thus occupies a very strategic position in the communications of western Yun-nan.

S twelve "Panna," with some differences from the smaller
636 t'u-ssu domains mentioned on the previous page. Only
634 four are found in both lists, Liu-shun, Meng-lung, Meng-
Sh che, and Meng-a. The Sip Song Panna was to have formed
631 part of the buffer state proposed in discussions by the
648 French and British in 1895 but this was found impracticable, so that the last hope of an independent T'ai state here failed to materialize.[76]

Of the twelve subordinate states listed by Carey, Wutei and Meng-wu were annexed to French Indo-China. The chief towns of these two were Muang-u-nua and Muang-u-tai respectively, situated on the Nam U, a river which
Sh joins the Mekong just above Luang Prabang. Said Carey,
669 in 1899, "The history of the 'Sip Song Panna' seems to have been a series of disputes about the succession; and desultory fighting for the supremacy was kept up for years, and until quite recently, between rival chieftains."[77]

Photo 14. Ching-kang, Yun-nan Province (21°46' N, 100° 14' E)

Sw In this view are seen the mountain lands and basins
133 of the southwestern Yun-nan frontier adjacent to Burma.
636 The northward-looking view is from approximately above
241 Ching-kang village, with the elongated river basins of Fu-
● 563 hai (Meng-hai) in the middle distance. This area consti-
Sh tutes part of the recently established T'ai Autonomous
631 Region organized by the Chinese Communists. Fu-hai has
241 been a Han-Chinese administrative seat in southwest Yunnan for about two decades and together with Ch'e-li formed the southernmost Chinese district seats in Yun-nan. The river basin is well settled by the wet-rice farming T'ai tribes, while slope farming mountain tribesmen, whose farms are seen in the white patches in the foreground, periodically shift their fields in a migratory system of agriculture, burning forests and brush for new fields as
Sw old farms become exhausted. Several states in the cycle
721 of cultivation and abandonment are visible in this photo.
648 It was into the Burmese Shan areas west of this region that the last remnants of the Nationalist armies under General Li Mi fled when the Communists overran China in 1949. Pocketed in such terrain as seen here, aided by local tribesmen, this force successfully withstood Burmese attacks for several years.

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Bo-lo tse
S.W. China AF16

of troops to defend the city against a resolute opponent. Sung pan ting has hardly more than 1,500 settled families. Their C 361 cloak of protection is therefore far too wide. Inasmuch as there are few Chinese farmers in the vicinity, the city is not required to provide shelter for many refugees in case of a war. This was also a reason why in the 1860s when the Tai ping rebellion C 669 weakened the government and the Tibetans and Mohammedans therefore thought their hour of emancipation had come, the city could not offer any resistance against the Tibetan attackers, and rapidly fell. For three years the city, as well as the entire territory up to Nan ping and down to Lung ngan fu and as far as Mao tschou, was ruled by the native aristocrats and the Chinese were so oppressed that to this day they celebrate the anniversary C [527] of their emancipation. The day happened to occur during my visit. The Mohammedans also take part in the pleasures of this festival, for they, too, suffered very much under the Tibetans. The latter wanted to re-establish the old kingdom of the Nessedin (Nasding) rgyalbo. The memory of this Tibetan king is still very vivid here.

The relationship between Chinese and Mohammedans who constitute about half the population of the city, is relatively very good, and that is why there are two Mohammedan prayer C 563 ● 361 halls inside the city wall; and a large mosque has been preserved from ancient times not far from the city across the left bank of the Min ho. As far as other buildings are concerned, we need mention only the old Chen tai yamen in the northern part of the city and the government building of the Ting on a rock terrace in the west. On the periphery of the city are a few lamaistic (Saskya-, Nima-) monasteries. The dwellings /277/ are largely made of wood and many of them are three-storied. A whole section of the city looked very new because just three years before there had been a large fire here. The shops are found along the main street, as everywhere in China. Here one always sees a few Tibetans buying luxury items. The Tibetan population which visits Sung pan ting gives the city a distinctive appearance. The streets are crowded with Ngolok who come riding into the gates on horseback, and above all with hordes of poorly-dressed Bo lo tse or Po lo (Tibetan: Kredyang), men and a surprising number of young women, on T 291 302 foot, and mostly barefoot, clothed only in a coarse, blackish-brown hairy shirt, often without a hat, without any kind of

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T 301 302 jewelry, the men with braids or short hair. Their eyelids do not have a distinct fold and their eyes are straight. [142] The women were uncombed and had blond or faded brownish tresses. It is exceptional for them to have the blue-black hair of which the Chinese are always so proud. T 463 They are the same type as the Yao tse of Hunan. They are a poor race, a remnant of the original Chinese inhabitants, who make a meager living with a few pieces of copper, gather grass on the mountains and sell it to the people of the city, and who now here, now there, seek and find a regular pariah livelihood. T 674 If there has been pillaging or a theft, every man from Sung pan says quite thoughtfully: "A Bo lo tse has again committed a crime." At the time of my visit the chief of this tribe, whose land lies south and southwest of Karlong in the lateral valleys of the Lo hoa River which comes down from Merge, was a captive in the yamen of the ting. He was discovered to have been privy to the robbery of a Chinese merchant, had allegedly approved of the theft on the one hand, but had also wanted to make a few purchases in the city. On one of his visits to the market he was arrested and without much ado put into prison by the Chinese. T 197 Linguistically, the Bo lo tse belong to the barbaric peoples of the Chinese border, who must be classed among the Tibetan language family. The Bo lo tse language is most closely related to that of Ts'a ka lao. C 563 The border Chinese maintain that they can clearly recognize a member of each tribe by his dress, the type of weave, the cut and the lacing; but I was unable to find anyone who could really give me accurate information about this, which he had not gathered from hearsay. Most of the so-called experts were content to tell me: "The Bo lo tse are thieves and robbers and not one of them is going to enter my house."

C 133 East of Sung pan ting the mountain peaks rise higher than in the west, in actual Tibet. There the Schar Dong re (or Schar Derung re) which the Chinese call Hsüä bau, rises up to 6,000 meters and reaches up to the realm of perpetual snow and ice. However, the kingdom begins a few hundred meters below the peak in the same geographical latitude as the city of Tripolis. The Schar Dong re is rather isolated and is therefore regarded as very sacred and considered a brother of the Amne Machin. T 792 788 Surrounding it are a number of Tibetan monasteries, such as the Ka tschung gomba, to which the devout flock even from the distant Ngolok country and from Ta tsien lu, in the sixth Tibetan or Chinese month (April-May). They also come for the reskor, that is, to encircle the entire mountain which takes three days. In the /278/ late fall and during the winter the inhabitants of the steppes wander through Sung pan ting to the sacred O mi Shan in the southern part of the province.